

to face the Tide



Generalissimo of the French Kings Forces &c

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THE
L I F E
AND
MILITARY HISTORY

Of the celebrated

MARSHAL SAXE,

GENERALISSIMO of the ARMIES of
His Most CHRISTIAN MAJESTY.

CONTAINING

A full and clear Account of the most important
TRANSACTIONS of the last WAR.

Together with

Some genuine Anecdotes relative to his private Life
and Amours; and the Ceremonies observed
at his magnificent Interment.

Published for the IMPROVEMENT and ENTERTAINMENT of the
BRITISH YOUTH of both Sexes.

Adorned with COPPER-PLATES.

By H. W. DILWORTH, A. M.


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T H E
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O F
Maurice Count Saxe,
Generalissimo of the French Army.

 *AURICE* Count *Saxe* was born at *Dresden*, the 19th of *October*, 1696. He was natural son of *Frederick Augustus* the second, elector of *Saxony*, since king of *Poland*, by *Aurora* countess of *Konicmiarc*, descended from one of the most distinguished houses in *Sweden*.

From his infancy he betrayed strong intimations of a military inclination, which grew upon him as he advanced in years; there was a warlike turn in all his amusements. He had conceived such an extraordinary fondness for horses, that from the time he could be with safety, he was always amongst them.

When fit to be taken out of the hands of women, and to be put under the tuition of a governor, his royal father determined that he should have an education suitable to his high birth; and with the concurrence of his mother,

B

appointed

appointed monsieur *D'Alençon*, a captain in *Bonneval's* regiment, to be his preceptor. He was a native of *France*, but bred up in the principles of *Calvin*; he was conspicuous for the politeness of his manners, and elegance of his behaviour. He was a perfect master of all the exercises in which young people of family pride themselves to excel.

Given into such hands, he gave a loose to his genius, thought of nothing but riding and fencing, for which he despised all other exercises; he was reltive in regard to learning, and all sorts of finessè were made use of to prevail on him to acquire the little knowledge he did. The general conduct of his life is to be attributed more to great natural parts, than to any considerable acquirements by study of the politer arts.

He seemed to have an early foreknowledge that *France* was to be one day his adopted country. He therefore particularly applied himself to that language, and had mostly people of that country attendants on him.

From the time he was able to manage a horse, he accompanied the elector in all his military expeditions, from whose great example he learned intrepidity: he followed the king in all the campaigns of *Poland*; and never behaved unworthy of the illustrious fountain he sprang from.

The troubles of *Poland* being over, our young warrior had no farther opportunities of indulging his martial disposition, at which he repined. But on hearing that the allies had declared war
against

MAURICE COUNT SAXE. 3

against *France*, he determined within himself to go thither, nor could he be dissuaded by all the difficulties represented to him, nor the tender intreaties of his mother.

He marched all the way on foot, as a private foldier, to the *Netherlands*, at that time the theatre of war, where he waited on the elector king his father, who had repaired incognito to the camp of the allies before *Lisle*, which they had laid siege to.

The fame of the duke of *Marlborough*, and of prince *Eugene*, vested with the command there, had filled him with a strong desire of making his first essays in the lists of glory, under two such renowned heroes.

His father, who in the army passed under the name of count *Missein*, had conferred the command of the troops of *Saxony* on general *Schulenburg*, who appointed count *Saxe* his aid-major-general. Tho' no more than twelve years old, he mounted the trenches several times before the city and citadel, under the eyes of his father, who was highly pleased with his undaunted spirit. Every thing having been agreed on relating to the capitulation of the citadel of *Lisle*, the two armies separated and went into winter-quarters; so ended the campaign of 1708. He returned to *Dresden*.

In the month of *June* of the following year, 1709, he assisted at the siege of *Tournay*. At which, as well as at that of *Lisle* in the preceding campaign, his noble actions acquired him

the esteem of *Schulembourg*, and the duke of *Marlborough*.

The capitulation for the city of *Tournay* was no sooner signed on both sides, than the allies having received information of the weakness of the garrison of *Mons*, detached a large body of horse, carrying each a foot-soldier behind him, under the prince of *Hesse Cassel's* command; in order to hinder the *French* from making themselves masters of the passage of the little river *Hayne* (from which the country of *Haynault* takes its name) and to invest *Mons* the capital thereof, before marshal *de Villars* should be able to penetrate into their scheme.

The young count being very desirous to make one of this expedition, solicited for permission to follow the prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, which granted, he carried a foot-soldier behind him, and was one of the foremost in passing the *Hayne*, sword in hand, while marshal *de Villars* crossed the river of *Heineau*, with a view of assisting of *Mons*, and putting troops and provisions in it. The two armies finding themselves within sight of one another, not far from that city, began by cannonading, and continued in order of battle a part of the night.

Next day many skirmishes happened between the detachments of both armies. Count *Saxe* had a share in most of them; and was always vex'd when he heard that there had been any, at which he assisted not, for his passion was to be in them all.

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On the tenth of *September*, 1709, he very narrowly escaped being taken or killed in one of those skirmishes. Nor could he have extricated himself, if, by a pistol-shot, he had not luckily defeated his pursuer's intent. And the following day, in the famous battle of *Malplaquet*, he distinguished himself by a determined bravery, that seemed quite above his age, declaring in the evening, "That he was content with his day's work."

At the siege of *Mons* he mounted the first trenches, in the night between the 25th and the 26th of the same month. That city surrendering the tenth of *October* following, the campaign concluded by the separation of the two armies for their respective winter-quarters. Count Saxe returned to *Dresden*; and from all the court received congratulatory compliments for his gallant behaviour during the campaign.

In *March* 1710, having learned that the *Russians* were on their way for *Livonia*, he left *Dresden*, in order to repair to the siege of *Riga*, where *Peter* the Great commanded in person, by whom he was most graciously received. His behaviour in this expedition was such, as justified with this monarch the high character he had already acquired.

He took leave of him to repair to *Flanders*, and arrived before *Douay*, at the time of its capitulation, the 25th of *June* of the same year. He was not a little dissatisfied with himself, for his not having come soon enough, to share in the reduction of this city. But the siege of *Bethune*,

began soon after, gave him frequent opportunities of making up for lost time.

He exposed himself so undauntedly on many occasions, that the duke of *Marlborough* said of him, "None but a man ignorant of what danger is, would attempt what he wantonly did!" Prince *Eugene*, in order to curb him, thus accosted him; "Rashness will never be deemed courage, and that he ought to beware of mistaking them, because the true judges of both will never let themselves be imposed on."

These remonstrances could not abate his ardor, nor keep him from any attacks during the siege, which over, the campaign ended, and he returned to *Dresden*. From whence he set out in the year 1711, with the king his father, for the campaign of *Pomerania*, jointly with the *Danes*, pursuant to the treaty of *Leopol*, between these two nations, and the *Czar*, against *Charles* the XIIth king of *Sweden*.

Young *Saxe* assisted his father in taking *Trep-tow*; followed him also to *Stralsund*, where with his pistol in his hand, in full view of the enemy, he swam over the river; and although he saw three officers and twenty soldiers killed during his passage, he was no way dismayed. The season being too far spent, and the adjacent country quite overflown, the united armies of *Denmark* and *Saxony* were compelled to raise the siege, and also that of *Wismar*; they notwithstanding marched to *Fort Penamunda*, which they took, and then separated. As soon as the troops
had

had repaired to their winter-quarters, count *Saxe* returned to *Dresden*.

The king, who had been a witness of his experience and capacity, raised a regiment of horse for him. The count employed all the winter in lifting men, chusing horses, and disciplining his troops. The king having complimented him with the liberty of chusing his own officers, he chose none but those whom he knew to be truly brave. He preferred the pleasure of exercising his regiment to all others, and longed for an opportunity to see them perform in an action the evolution which he had invented.

In the beginning of 1712, the allied armies of *Poland* and *Denmark* were making ready to commence hostilities against the territories of *Germany*, still in the king of *Sweden's* possession. The first operation was against the dutchy of *Bremen*. Count *Saxe* having received orders for this expedition, conducted his regiment to the rendezvous of the army.

Stade, the most important place in the dutchy of *Bremen*, was besieged, and taken, before it was possible count *Steinbac* could come to its relief; but as soon as that brave *Swedish* general had reached the conquerors in the old dutchy of *Mechlenbourg*, not far from a village called *Gadelbusch*, he gave them battle the 20th of *December*, 1712. The fight was so bloody and obstinate on both sides, that more than ten thousand men, killed or wounded, remained in the field. Notwithstanding the allied army had superiority of numbers, and the advantage of the ground, the

Swedes

Swedes were victorious, and remained masters of the field of battle, which their enemies were obliged to abandon, with part of their baggage and artillery.

In this engagement, which lasted three hours, count *Saxe* had several of his officers and soldiers killed. A horse was killed under himself with a cannon-ball. Altho' this was the first time of his being at the head of a regiment, he acquitted himself with all the resolution and caution of a consummate warrior. The fine dispositions which he made in his repeated attacks, as well as in his retreat, obtained for him the universal approbation of friends and foes.

Count *Saxe* being returned to *Dresden*, his principal occupation for near a year, was to recruit and remount his regiment, which had greatly suffered in the affair of *Gadelbusch*; because he had rallied his men several times during the action, and returned to charge the enemy.

About this time his mother resolved on his marriage, in order to wean him from amours, which he was very inclinable to, and found a very advantageous match for him in the young countess of *Lobin*, a lady of high birth, and great beauty. Notwithstanding that he had formerly expressed a repugnancy to matrimony, yet immediately after he had seen this blooming princess, and was informed of her name being *Victoria*, he with raptures consented to marry her. He has since often declared, that her name contributed as much as her beauty to his determination, or even her large estate.

Nothing

Nothing more was wanting but the king's consent, who on his arrival was applied to by madam *Konicsmarc*. The king not only gave his consent, but likewise undertook to defray the entire expence necessary for the solemnization of their nuptials, and, suitable to so pleasing an occasion, gave several magnificent entertainments.

In the beginning of the year 1715, count *Saxe* was greatly pleased to learn, that the king of *Poland* had named him to serve in *Pomerania*, with his regiment, under the orders of count *Walkerbath*, who then commanded the *Saxons*. The countess his spouse, who found herself with child about that time, would not have consented to his departure; he therefore to avoid the ceremonial of either bidding her or his mother adieu, left *Dresden* about the end of the month of *January*, to go and join his regiment, destined with another regiment to attack the isle of *Usedom*; having with him but five officers of his regiment, and twelve domestic servants, he arrived at a town in *Poland*, on the river *Pietewa*, called *Leopol*, and the capital of *Red Russia*.

While he waited there for an escort, because the country was over-run with *Polish* parties, subsequent to the confederacy that had been formed at *Sandomir*, and which still subsisted, a report nevertheless was spread abroad, that a truce was concluded on between the *Saxon* troops and those of the confederates of *Sandomir*. He judged such a favourable opportunity of reaching his regiment with safety ought not to be
let

let slip; and therefore set out from *Leopol* with all the *Saxon* officers, who had waited there as well as he for an escort.

Late at night he arrived at a borough called *Cracnitz*, and there stopt at an inn. But the truce having been broken before he came, and the *Poles* of the *Sandomir* confederate army being informed that he was there, formed a design of carrying him off, together with marshal count *Flemming*, whom they imagined to be with him; but he had taken another road. In order to execute their design, they detached six hundred horse and two hundred dragoons, which an officer called *Paschkouiski* commanded.

Count *Saxe* was scarce seated down to supper, when news came to him, that a large body of troops had entered the place, and was marching towards the inn; that their project seemed levelled at him: so that it was time for him to be on his guard, if not inclined to surrender, the truce being now at an end. Not having above a score persons remaining with him, the different apartments of the house being separated one from the other, it was not practicable for him to defend them all. He abandoned the court, and took to the chambers; in each he posted two or three men, whom he commanded to bore holes in the floor, that they might fire from above on those who entered below; and as he could give assistance to his people but from the stable, he took his station there with what men he had left.

This disposition was scarce made when the *Poles* appeared at the doors of the inn, which
were

were instantly broke open; but as the floors of the chambers were low, and those placed in them could reach the enemy with their screwed bayonets, unseen, they availed themselves of this advantage; the first who entered were killed immediately, those following stopped astonished, changed their attack, and endeavoured to get into the upper chambers through the windows.

This movement of the enemy puzzled the count and his company, there being no means of preventing it. He therefore suffered them to proceed, resolving to go up, and enter the chambers, the sword in one hand, and the pistol in the other, with his companions. He entered first, and received a wound in his thigh, which he felt ever after; his followers seconded so well their intrepid leader, that their enemies were all cut to pieces, and those who survived threw themselves out of the window. Being repulsed a second time, they altered their scheme, and beset the house till day should appear; then their captain having posted guards every where, sent a summons to count *Saxe* to surrender, with menaces of setting fire to the house and borough, in case he refused: upon which the count called upon him to withdraw, which he not obeying, was shot dead instantly.

The enemy not at all discouraged by the loss of *Paschkouiski*, but yet unwilling to shed the blood of a king's son, they sent a friar with a second summons, who received the like answer. But in the mean time, the besieged began to want provision and ammunition; they had powder indeed,

indeed, but no bullets. They had resource to iron nails, and when these failed them, they loaded their fire-arms with what silver they had in their pockets. But this resource also failing, the count called his people together, of whom not one was missing, and said, "that as no quarter was to be expected, their business was to fall out sword in hand through the enemy dispersed round the inn to form the blockade; the darkness of the night befriended them; that their retreat might be easily secured in a neighbouring wood; that the greatest disadvantage which could befall them, would be the meeting one of the rear-guards, whom, while surprized at so unexpected a visit, their business would be to charge sword in hand, and not to give them time to recover from their alarm."

So daring a proposal from the young prince astonished the hearers, at the same time that they allowed the validity of his arguments, agreeable to which, their little council of war broke up, they sallied out, and as he had foreseen, met with a guard of the enemy, who not apprehensive of any thing, had alighted to repose themselves. The count's brave friends, animated by his heroic example, fell on with such impetuosity as not to give them time to fire a shot; then seized on as many of their horses as were judged necessary, on which they travelled the whole night to *Sandomir*, where a *Saxon* garrison was lodged. The count continued his route to the rendezvous of the *Saxon* army; where after having assisted at different operations, he was de-

detached the first of *August* to go and attack the island of *Usedom*.

Thither he marched at the head of his regiment, and pressed the besieged with so much vigour, that on the 15th of the same month, he was master of the island; while the *Danes* and *Hanoverians* blocked up *Wismar*, and came to join the grand army to form the siege of *Stralsund*.

This siege was productive of great difficulties, because, besides the strength and good condition of its fortifications, it was defended by the king of *Sweden* in person: so that although the trenches were opened the 20th of *October*, it did not surrender till the thirteenth of *December*. *Charles* the XIIth left it the night before, and made his way through the *Russian* fleet, which covered the *Baltic* sea, to prevent that monarch's escaping. The taking of which put an end to the campaign.

Count *Saxe*, on his arrival at *Dresden* in *January* 1716, was highly rejoiced to find his lady delivered of a son, who, though seemingly of a robust constitution, died soon after his birth; and was the only child he had by her.

Overtures of peace from the part of *Sweden* giving him idle time, he filled it up, by making several journies to *Russia*, *Poland*, and *Prussia*. The *Saxon* minister, besides his old pique to the countess of *Konigsmarc*, conceived a violent jealousy against her son's rising merit, whom to thwart he let slip no occasion; but the boldest step he had as yet taken, was to disband the

count's regiment, and also that of prince *Louis* of *Wirttemberg*, whom he also hated.

Young *Saxe*, stung to the quick at such maltreatment for all his services, repaired to the king, and repeated publicly to him all the acts of malevolence the *Saxon* minister had done to his mother and himself. Nay, warmed with the subject, and somewhat forgetful of that respect due to his sovereign, he abruptly declared, that if the king did not order adequate satisfaction to be made him, he would take proper measures himself.

The king, though perhaps internally not displeased with his son's spirit, answered him in a menacing tone, "Such words, and such behaviour, might in all likelihood, make him a lodger in the castle of *Konigstein*," the state-prison near *Dresden*. The count, without replying, left the king's apartment, went directly to his stables, ordered one of the best horses to be saddled, on which he rode off to his lady, who was then at one of her country-seats, twenty leagues distant from *Dresden*. Moreover he had not seen her for some time, on account of the capriciousness of her temper, which was become so disagreeable to him, that he wrote to his mother, that confinement in the castle of *Konigstein* for the rest of his life, could not be so insupportable to him, as to remain eight days longer where he was; and therefore strenuously solicited her to conciliate the king's good graces to him, which on account of the paternal tenderness he had for him, was easily obtained.

Count

Count *Saxe's* next request of the king, was to go and serve in the Imperial army, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand men, then assembled in *Hungary*, under the command of prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, to act against the *Turks*. The king not only consented, but gave also orders for an equipage to be got ready for him, suitable to his birth; but, he being too impatient to stay for it, set out for the camp at *Belgrade*; where he arrived the 20th of *July*, 1717. Prince *Eugene*, who had seen many instances of count *Saxe's* bravery in *Flanders*, received him in a distinguished manner, and in person presented him to all the princes then in the army, the most splendid and magnificent which had ever been seen; for besides a considerable number of foreign nobility of the foremost rank, more than thirty sovereign princes and others had repaired thither from all parts, to serve in quality of volunteers: and all distinguished themselves by their bravery and magnificence.

The passage of the *Danube* near *Benzova*, on the 15th of *June*, 1717, was the first important expedition of this campaign, which being happily executed, facilitated the siege of *Belgrade* sooner than had been at first imagined. It had been invested before the arrival of count *Saxe*. Besides the operations of the siege, he was always delighted to go on parties against the *Turks*.

He was observed to rise from company, to go and have a little diversion with them in the way of pistolling, by which he exposed himself to

most imminent dangers, as there was no quarter to be expected from them.

On the 16th of *August* in the same year, prince *Eugene* gave the *Turkish* army (more than double the number of his) battle, obtained a complete victory over them, and all its consequences. The next day the commander of *Belgrade* demanded to capitulate. On the 22d, the articles were signed on both sides, and the same day the city was delivered to the Imperialists.

The defeated *Turks* having retired to their own country, and the Imperial generals distributed their troops in the neighbourhood of *Semlin*, the volunteer princes took leave of prince *Eugene*, and returned to their respective homes. Count *Saxe* was the last of them who left the army. From *Belgrade* he travelled to *Fravenstat*, a town in *Poland*, where the court was at that time. He arrived there in the beginning of the year 1718, and the king his father conferred on him the order of the *White Eagle*.

The reciprocal aversion of count *Saxe* and his lady grew to such a pitch, in spite of all inter-mediation of the court and their friends, that he resolved on going to *France*: there he arrived in the year 1720, was most graciously received by the duke of *Orleans*, then regent of *France*, to whom he paid his court; who thoroughly informed of the count's military merits, as well as of the motive of his coming to *France*, interested himself in his behalf, and proposed to give him an employment in *France*.

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MAURICE COUNT SAXE. 17

He most gratefully thanked the regent, and humbly observed the dutiful necessity of having his father's consent; to which the regent replied, "Go, count, to the king your father at *Dresden*, and, in order to induce him to grant your request, and to shew him at the same time how much I have your preferment at this court at heart, communicate to him the breviate of a camp-marshal, which I will order to be drawn up in your name."

So extraordinary a mark of favour, of which there are but few examples to be found, caused great murmuring at *Versailles*, and was taken so heinously by most of the nobility, that many of them remonstrated to M. *Le Blanc*, the then minister of war, but in vain. The breviate was signed and delivered to the court. The form of it was as follows:

"This day, the seventh of *August* 1720, the king at *Paris*, and intending to qualify count *Saxe* for entering into his service, in a post suitable to his birth; and at the same time to give a proof of the high esteem he bears to (the king) his father, has, by the advice of the duke of *Orleans* regent, established him in the rank of camp-martial in his armies, to perform hereafter the functions of that post, with the full use and enjoyment of all dignities and privileges annexed to it, &c.

Signed LEWIS.
Underneath LE BLANC."

Count *Saxe* having solved every objection his father raised against his serving in *France*, he not only gave him his consent, but also increased his revenues, by granting him several forfeited and valuable estates. The count had also projected a long while to have his marriage dissolved; and for that purpose had consulted frequently with very eminent lawyers, to whom it appeared impracticable, since it could only be brought to bear by proof of adultery against one of the parties. Moreover, according to the laws of *Saxony*, adultery is a capital crime, and the culprit punishable with death.

The young count was a bold man, and was resolved to run any risk rather than be tied any longer to a person who had out-lived his liking; and for the farther singularity, consulted even with her about the means of effecting it: her too violent, as well as too well grounded jealousy, to which he gave repeated cause, rendered him so odious in her eyes, that he knew she would readily concur, in order to become her own mistress again. He played the provoking part so well, that she signed a consent to have their marriage annulled in the speediest manner possible.

With this instrument he returned from her country-seat to court, shewed it to the king, and entreated his majesty's permission to make the intended use of it: she repaired to court a few days after, and having, by compact, appointed a day for his being convicted of adultery,
count

count *Saxe* was exhibited in bed with one of her waiting-women.

Witnesses posted for the purpose swore to the fact: in virtue of their evidence the marriage was annulled, and count *Saxe*, conformable to the severe laws of that country, sentenced to death; but in the mean while the king had ordered a pardon to be made out for him, which, to his great satisfaction, as he sat down to dinner with his majesty that very day, he discovered under his napkin.

She, in consequence, was allowed to marry again; and was married in a short time after to a *Saxon* officer, by whom she had three children: she had been dead long before the count, who, whenever he went to *Saxony*, so far from forgetting, always visited her, which made some people imagine he regretted the loss of her. One thing, however, is true, that having given her his promise that he would never marry again, he has religiously observed it, tho' he has had since very brilliant opportunities.

Leave obtained from the king of *Poland* to engage in the *French* service, he arrived in *Paris* in the beginning of the year 1722; and, as there were no other but foreign regiments vacant at that time, he bought that of *Spar* at a very dear rate, which afterwards went by his name. His first care was to change its old exercise to that of his own invention, which he had so successfully practised in *Saxony*.

Tho' from that period he had fixed his residence in *France*, he visited *Poland* and *Saxony*
from

from time to time. The *French* being in a general peace, in order still to make a greater proficiency in the art of war, he applied himself closely to engineering, fortification, and the mathematics, which he learned with as much ease as he had a repugnance for other studies. Towards the end of the year 1725, an extraordinary event called him to *Dresden*, and from thence to *Warsaw*, where the *Polish* court at that juncture resided, which was an invitation to accept of the sovereignty of *Courland*, which he communicated to the king, who, foreseeing many obstacles, gave him no encouragement to proceed.

The count, however, instigated by his friends, and urged by *Brakel* agent for the *Courlanders*, determined to repair (tho' under the pretext of going somewhere else) to *Mittau*, the capital of *Courland*, where he arrived the 18th of *May* 1726, and was received with great joy by the states. He had several secret interviews with the dutchess dowager of *Courland*, to whom he insinuated marriage, if the scheme should succeed. Charmed before she had seen him with his reputation, she was now enamoured of his person and manners, and promised her utmost assistance that his enterprize might succeed: she was second daughter to the czar *Iwan Alexiowits*, brother to *Peter* the Great: was born in the year 1693, and married in 1710 to prince *Frederick William* duke of *Courland*, who dying without children in the year 1711,

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Count Saxe is discovered carrying a Lady on his Back
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bequeathed his dukedom to his brother *Ferdinand*.

Had count *Saxe* put a final conclusion to matters with her at this time, he might have maintained himself not only in *Courland*, but would also have shared with that princess the throne of *Russia*, which she was afterwards raised to. She neglected nothing on her side; besides, duke *Ferdinand* was so far from agreeable to his subjects, that they compelled him to retreat to *Dantzick*, on account of the exactions which he had been guilty of in *Courland*. Another objection they had to him was his religion, he being of the *Romish* faith, and they *Lutherans*.

For which reasons, regardless of all protestations of duke *Ferdinand*, dictated by *Poland*, their combined views were to give him a successor, who, by strenuously maintaining their rights and liberties, might be able to throw off the yoke of any other power, that should endeavour to infringe them, and also to maintain the right of chusing a sovereign prince for themselves.

During these transactions in *Courland*, count *Saxe* returned to *France*, employed all his ways and means there in order to levy money and men. One *Leger* was appointed collector for the subscriptions of his friends. At *Leige* another person was employed by the count to enlist all the deserters who could be found, and of whatever nation. The scheme was to raise three thousand men: but the growing expence surpassing
by

by far the sums collected; and *Leger*, in consequence, discontinuing to remit money, not more than eighteen hundred men were enlisted, of which half deserted on the way to *Lubec*, the place they were to be embarked at. By these disasters, the count received but nine hundred effective men, whom, on their arrival, he formed into a regiment, and disciplined according to his own invented exercise.

On the 20th of *June* 1726, triumphant over all competitors, he was unanimously elected successor to duke *Ferdinand*. Two days after his election, count *Saxe* sent a notification thereof to the primate of *Poland*: he also sent one to the king, his father, with a private Account of all that had passed on the occasion.

Prince *Menzikoff*, one of the competitors supported by *Russia*, finding, that neither by intrigue nor menace he could defeat the election of count *Saxe*, employed eight hundred armed ruffians to steal a march on, surprize, and carry him off by force. This base attempt was frustrated by the friendly intervention of the dutchess of *Courland*, who sent her guards to his assistance; he having but about sixty attendants, of which but two were slightly hurt: his assailants and besiegers had sixteen killed, and more than sixty wounded; of the latter was their commander, which occasioned his precipitate retreat.

Count *Saxe*'s house having suffered greatly by the siege, the dutchess prevailed on him to accept of an apartment in her palace, which he did,

did, and made use of all the time he sojourned in *Mittau* the capital, where he was entertained at the dowager's expence, who omitted no opportunity of giving demonstrations how much she regarded him. Every morning she sent a page to his levee to enquire about his health, and one of her officers to receive his commands. All his returns to her were the mere effects of politeness; for passion he had none: his utmost feeling for her was a sense of gratitude. She, nevertheless, set out for *St. Petersburg*, to procure a ratification of his election; thither he at the same time sent a letter to baron *D'Osternan*, privy counsellor to the empress!

What contributed to give a greater energy to the solicitations of the dutchess of *Courland*, and the favourable impressions occasioned by count *Saxe's* letter, was an unexpected declaration from the king of *Poland*, notified at *Warsaw* to the *Russian* minister, wherein he complained of the proceeding of prince *Menzikoff*: in consequence whereof baron *D'Osternan* gave orders that their troops should forthwith evacuate *Courland*.

The retreat of the *Russian* troops afforded but a short-lived pleasure to count *Saxe*, having intelligence from *Poland* that this election had raised him a number of enemies there.

The diet being on the point of assembling at *Grodno*, he thought proper to be present at it; and, on the 6th of *October*, arrived there incognito. But his real friends having informed him

him that his affair engrossed all the thoughts of the diet, counselled him to withdraw.

The king of *Poland* was obliged to dissemble on this occasion, however he might have felt inwardly for his son; and debates running daily higher on this subject, he found himself under a political necessity of writing to count *Saxe*, in grating terms, to return without delay, and deliver up the act of his election, with every thing thereto appertaining. This letter was dated *October* the 11th, which not being answered, he wrote another the 18th, in stronger and more urgent terms. To the latter count *Saxe* wrote an answer, spirited as a man of honour, and dutiful as a son, which he had scarce sent off for *Grodno*, when he received a diploma, the king his father was necessitated to grant against him, at the reiterated solicitations of the nuncios; it was signed *October* the 26th.—For non-appearance, and a refusal to give up the act of his election, count *Saxe* was outlawed by the decrees of the diet.

This was look'd upon by some as a political stroke of the king's, in order that the count's pretensions to *Courland* might thereby be the better established. For the diet had no right to outlaw him, he not being a native of *Poland*; and, by doing it, they acknowledged him in a manner duke of *Courland*. The nuncios, not satisfied as yet with what the king had done for them, got a local commission opened before the end of the year; that the abettors of the assembling the states of *Courland*, and all those

who

who had co-operated in the election of count Saxe, should undergo an enquiry.

A reward being offered by the diet for count Saxe's head, and those of the deputies of the states of *Courland*, who had been, in vain, at different times summoned to appear at it, he set out in private for *Dresden*, where he raised all the money he could; and, on the 24th of *November*, he returned to *Mittau*. The first thing he then did, was to form a guard of three hundred men, determined to maintain himself at all events; and should he be compelled to give up his act of election, that he would yield it to the hands of those only who conferred that honour on him.

The regency, however, fearing lest such ineffectual preparations might still excite greater resentment in the *Poles*, remonstrated to him their situation; but, deaf to all their proposals, he for the first time spoke to them in the tone of a sovereign, and acted as such. Although under sentence of banishment, count Saxe ventured to go to *Biallostock* in the beginning of the following year, at which time the king was detained there with sickness. He had many private interviews: his father advised him, in the strongest terms, to desist from his pretensions on *Courland*, and was very urgent with him, that he might deliver the diploma of election into his hands: against which count Saxe pleaded various excuses; and finding that his father was unwilling to assist him from political views, he set

out for *Mittau*, and arrived there the fourth day of *February* in the same year.

Soon after his arrival, the king, in order to quiet the *Polish* ministry, sent positive orders to him to withdraw from *Courland*, and join his regiment in *France*; commanding all his adherents to forsake, and come immediately to *Warsaw*, to account for their behaviour relatively to him. Count *Saxe*, who had drained the finances of all his friends, set out for *Leipsick*, where he raised all the money he could. Having learned that his father was at *Pilnitz*, and would remain there for some days, he went thither, and having waited on the king while he sojourned there, he returned to *Mittau* on the 15th of *June*, and in the most cautious manner he could, for the *Polish* republic had promised a high premium to whoever should make him prisoner; and if he had unluckily fallen into their power, perhaps all the king's authority would not have been able to save his life. He was met several times by *Poles*, who knew him through all his disguise; but having friendly wishes for, took no notice of him.

After some time, count *Saxe* perceived he could not remain longer at *Mittau*, because, if he should wait the arrival of the *Polish* republic's commissioners there, he must run the risk of being arrested; he therefore waited on the dutchess of *Courland* to take leave of her. He withdrew to *Conisberg*, to wait the result as well of the commission, as of the negotiations which were transacting for him in different courts,

par-

particularly that of *England*, on which he had founded great expectations. But as soon as he learned that they had miscarried, he left *Conisberg*, and repaired to *Liban*; whither those of his people, who had remained at *Dantzick*, came to join him, that he might be escorted by them to the island of *Usmaiz*, where he landed the eighth of *August* 1727. Two Days after, he resolved to raise fortifications in that island, where he received a large convoy with provisions and ammunition.

He compelled a hundred peasants in the neighbourhood to come and join the three hundred soldiers which he had, to work at the entrenchments. He published a rescript on the 18th of the same month, inviting the *Courlanders* to repair to him there. But so far from conforming therewith, they would not even permit the publication of it in their villages. Their politics now were turned to get well with the *Polish* republic's commission, which was to arrive there soon, and to preserve their country from the inconveniencies it was menaced with.

In the mean time, the *Russian* generals (sent by the intrigues of prince *Menzikoff*, regent of *Russia*, since the empress's decease, on the 17th of *May*) who had been informed of the retreat of count *Saxe*, march'd towards the lake of *Usmaiz*, to which place they were to advance, to have a conference with him. General *Bibikoff* desired an interview with the count, which was granted. The discourse being chiefly on the motives of his expedition, he declared the intentions

tentions of the court of *Russia*, to which the upshot of count *Saxe's* answer was, "That, as
 " there is no fighting against impossibilities, he
 " was willing to decline his engagements with
 " the *Courlanders*, on condition that he should
 " be allowed an honourable retreat, and ten
 " days time to withdraw his effects, baggage,
 " and ammunition, &c."

Inasmuch as *Bibikoff* could not take upon him to answer positively, he told count *Saxe*, he would make a report to his colleague general *Lacy*, and withdrew. General *Lacy* penetrated into the design of his requesting ten days, which was to give him time to finish the entrenchments and works, which were already far advanced; and if suffered to be completed according to his plan, twenty thousand *Russians* would have found it a difficult matter to dislodge him from that island, though his little army consisted but of three hundred men; therefore general *Lacy* considered how he might surprize him by stratagem, which to effectuate, he caused the island to be surrounded; and on the 18th of *August*, sent a trumpeter to the count, desiring a conference with him.

The count, too great a politician, refused to go, and proposed that general *Lacy* should come to him, but unattended. This commander had posted twelve hundred men round the island, with orders, upon a certain signal given, to attack the place from whence it should come. Next day he went alone to meet the count,
 who

who having been informed of his project, thus accosted him :

“ Were I as ungenerous as you, I should
 “ this moment plunge a poniard in you: was
 “ it becoming a general, who had four thou-
 “ sand men, to employ treachery against an in-
 “ jured and persecuted man, whose little forces
 “ do not exceed three hundred ?” Disdaining
 “ any further conference, he turned away from
 him.

No signal appearing, the *Russians* continued in their posts until evening; then general *Lacy* gave them new orders, and sent to inform the count, “ That he allowed him but four and
 “ twenty hours to retreat, which if he did not
 “ comply with, he must expect no quarter.” The count foreseeing that he must be oppressed by numbers, his entrenchments being unfinished, retired the same day, which was the 19th of *August*, to *Widau*, leaving all his baggage to the discretion of the *Russians*, who seized thereon, and made prisoners of all his people. His officers, and several noble *Courlanders* attached to his fortune, were treated by the *Russian* generals with great politeness.

Count *Saxe*, who had gone from *Conisberg* to *Elbourg*, on leaving the island of *Usmaiz*, arrived at *Dantzick* incognito the first of *October*. He then received from the countess of *Konismarc*, who was at *Leipsic*, large remittances, and was met by a great many *Courland* noblemen, whose attachment to him was inviolable.

Having repaired to *Dresden*, in the beginning of the year 1728, the count ordered new liveries to be made on his arrival, and seized on the opportunity of the king of *Prussia*'s coming thither, of being reconciled with the king his father. After six weeks delay in *Dresden* and *Quedlinbourg*, he returned to review his regiment in *France*; then set out for *Dantzick*, where he arrived on the 20th of *April* following.

He immediately visited the dutchess of *Courland*, who happened to be there; but he did not meet with so kind a reception as formerly; his too general love for the sex had disgusted her.

By the death of his mother, count *Saxe* inherited effects of so considerable a value, as enabled him to clear off all demands upon him. So having settled all his affairs in *Saxony*, he left it. In the beginning of the year 1729, he arrived in *Paris*, and without giving up all hopes of his sovereignty of *Courland* and *Semi-gallia*; for as soon as he had arranged matters relative to his family in *Paris*, he set out from thence in *April* 1729, to go to different *German* courts, and arrived at *Dantzick* in the month of *June*, where he met several of the nobility of *Courland*, with whom he had many conferences relating to the affairs of that duchy.

The king of *Poland* having proposed to the king of *Prussia*, to honour with his presence a camp which he intended to form at *Muhlberg*, in the month of *June* following, he sent timely

notice

notice to count *Saxe*, with orders to assist there. Quarters were appointed for him near those of the king of *Prussia*. An equipage was ordered by the king for count *Saxe*, as superb as the electoral prince's. This camp proved to be the most splendid, numerous, and magnificent, which had been as yet seen. The first of *June* the two kings made a general review of the camp, which lasted six and twenty days; during which time many diversions were introduced to diversify the military exercises, to the general satisfaction of all present.

Count *Saxe* distinguished himself above all others by his surprizing evolutions, for which he was complimented by the two monarchs and their courts. The camp and its diversions were concluded by a great hunting-match, in which eleven hundred stags, hinds, wild goats, and wild boars were killed.

Immediately after count *Saxe* had conducted the king of *Poland* to *Dresden*, he set out for *Paris*; there he renewed his application to the mathematics, which gave him a relish for mechanics. He invented a machine, with which he pretended to make the boats and lighters ascend the river from *Rouen* to *Paris*, without the aid of horses, as had been customary. He went to *Rouen* to make an experiment of his machine, which was made ready in his presence; but having discovered, upon trial, that it could not answer the end, he declined any farther prosecution of his design; having expended, in conjunction with Mr. *Bonier*, large sums in that undertaking.

taking. To count *Saxe* also is partly owing the perfection of the engine which is seen at present under *Pont-neuf*, and serves to haul up the boats from the *Pont-royal*, (the names of two bridges in *Paris*) as far as the bason; without any necessity of employing horses, which, before this invention, were a public nuisance.

Count *Saxe*, on his arrival at *Dresden*, 1733, (whither he used to make frequent journies) received the melancholy news of his father's death, which greatly affected him. *France* took advantage of this conjuncture, to revive the pretensions of king *Stanislaus*; and her interest prevailing, the primate, who by right was regent during the interregnum, very peremptorily declared, in the name of all the *Polish* nobility, in the behalf of king *Stanislaus*.

In order to keep the *Poles* stedfast in their resolutions, monsieur *Chauvelin*, then the *French* minister for foreign affairs, communicated on the fifteenth of *March*, 1733, his master *Lewis* the XVth's declaration to all the foreign ministers. The emperor's declaration appeared as an answer to that of the *French* king, which at the same time was dispatched by couriers to *St. Petersburg*, the *Hague*, *Berlin*, *London*, and *Versailles*, with orders for notification in proper form to the Imperial ministers residing in those courts. These preludes of opposition were on every side followed by warlike preparations.

The elector of *Saxony* did all in his power to prevail on count *Saxe* his brother, to accept the command of his army, which declining in the politest

politest manner he could, he took his leave of the electoral court, and returned to *Paris* the 28th of *July* 1733. Being named to serve on the *Rhine*, under the command of marshal *Berwick*, he was among the first at his post. Marshal *Berwick* had an high opinion of his bravery, and therefore detached him on the 12th of *October* 1733, with twenty companies of grenadiers, and two thousand fuzileers, to pass the *Rhine*, in several boats, in a place clear of the enemy. He was as expeditious as secret in executing this order. Between the 22d and 23d he mounted the trenches of *Fort Kehl*: the besieged fired very briskly, and just by him *La Serre*, captain of grenadiers in *Richlieu's* regiment, was killed. A general assault being made on the 26th, the count exposed himself to imminent danger.

In the month of *April* the following year (1734) count *Saxe* took a large convoy of provisions intended for *Luxembourg*. He was accused by some of temerity in this action, having only two hundred dragoons, and the enemy being twelve hundred men strong. He narrowly escaped being killed at the siege of *Traerbach*.

Marshal *Berwick* being determined to force the enemy's lines at *Etlingen*, gave count *Saxe* (whose merit he praised on all occasions) a detachment of grenadiers. He led them into the lines, and made such a general havock of the *Imperialists* who shewed themselves, that the others fled in the utmost terror from their artillery and the lines.

lines. Upon succeeding here, not only the security of *France* depended, but also the farther progress of her army's operations. The generals of the army and princes of the blood gave him all the encomiums that so essential a service merited.

On the 12th of *June*, at nine in the morning, marshal *Berwick* was killed by a cannon-ball, in going to visit the trenches. He was succeeded in command by the marquis *d'Asfeldt*, promoted to the dignity of marshal of *France*, as was also the duke *de Noailles*. In acknowledgment of the many gallant actions of the count this campaign, not letting an opportunity escape in which he could distinguish himself, on the first of *August* this year the *French* king advanced him to the rank of lieutenant-general.

He was detached on the second of *September* with four battalions and four squadrons, to go and seize a little borough called *Altrich*, near *Manheim*, which he executed before the enemy had time to put themselves in order. He took there a large magazine, with a hundred and fifty prisoners. He was after detached on the 12th by marshal *d'Asfeldt*, who called him his right-hand, with twelve hundred foot and a hundred dragoons, to make himself master of the post at *Bibrach*; he dislodged the enemy, though they had been entrenched there.

The *Imperialists*, too sensible of the importance of this post, sent a large body of hussars to regain it. On the 19th of *September*, count *Saxe*, at the head of a hundred grenadiers, met them

them near a little wood, and attacked; with his own hand he slew the commander, from whom he had received a stroke on the head with a cut-lafs: the scull-cap he always had on in battle prevented his being wounded. He so totally routed this party, that it never re-appeared. When the army separated, count Saxe returned to *Paris*, and from thence repaired to *Fontaine-bleau*, the court being there at that time, by which he was universally complimented.

On the 26th of *May* 1735, upon advice that the *Imperialists* had some design against *Oppenheim*, where the *French* garrison was but weak, count Saxe was detached to go and reinforce it. Prince *Eugene* intending to pass the *Rhine* at *Manheim* with his army, marshal *Coigny* detached count Saxe with thirteen battalions and ten squadrons, to oppose him there. Thither he marched on the 6th of *September*, and chose so advantageous a post, that he defeated prince *Eugene's* scheme. Unable to undertake any thing, count Saxe made the finest disposition imaginable. He was so entrenched, that it was impossible to force him; and from thence with a small body he kept a formidable army in awe. The passage of the *Rhine* was not attempted.

On the 5th of *November* a suspension of arms was published in both armies; the princes and general officers left the army; count Saxe, who had been very active during the campaign, returned to *Paris*. The troops on both sides entered into winter quarters; and the courts at war

war were employed about settling articles for a solid treaty of peace.

On the 12th of *February* following, the arch-dutcheſs *Mary Thereſa* was married to the duke of *Lorrain* at *Vienna*; and peace was published in *Paris* the firſt of *June*, and was accompanied with all the public demonstrations of joy uſual on ſuch occaſions.

The death of the emperor *Charles VI.* at *Vienna*, the 20th of *October* 1740, interrupted the general peace, by reaſon of the oppoſite intereſts which many *German* powers pretended relative to the ſucceſſion.

Count *Saxe* on every occaſion renewed his pretenſions to *Courland* by proteſtations, &c. but to no purpoſe. Having obtained permiſſion from the king to ſerve in the *French* auxiliary army, to be employed in *Germany*, in behalf of the houſe of *Bavaria* againſt that of *Auſtria*, he ſet out from *Paris* the 11th of *Auguſt*, 1741, for *Strasburg*. The elector of *Bavaria* was generaliſſimo of his own and the *French* troops.

Count *Saxe* joined him with the firſt diviſion of the *French* cavalry, which he commanded. The whole army paſſed the river *Enſ* on the 30th of *September*, and continued its march to the banks of the river *Ips*, where it encamped the ſecond of *October*. Count *Saxe* was detached to advance, at the head of the regiments of the camp-maſters, dauphin-dragoons, *Ratſki* huffars, eight companies of grenadiers, and four independent. When he came to *Walfec*, he learned that eighteen hundred *Auſirians* were

on

on the other side of the village; he marched immediately, attacked, conquered, and continued his pursuit after them for a long time. He took many prisoners, particularly the dragoons of the regiments of *Kevenhuller* and prince *Eugene*.

Count *Saxe* not having lost a man in this exploit, moved along the banks of the river *Ips*, where he got intelligence on the 29th of *September*, that in their way up the *Danube* some boats had passed by *Molk*. He followed and took them, with all the provisions they had on board. He was honoured by many demonstrations of friendship from the elector of *Bavaria*.

The *Bavarian* and *French* armies decamped from *St. Polten*, and directed their march towards the kingdom of *Bohemia*. Count *Saxe* commanded the vanguard, and took a small town called *Budweis*, where the *Austrians* had a plentiful magazine.

The elector having resolved to take *Prague* by storm, called a grand council of war the 25th of *November*, in which it was agreed to form one false attack, and two real ones. Count *Polastron*, charged with one of the real attacks, repaired to his post an hour after midnight, made a very brisk fire, in order to draw the enemy towards his side; in which design he succeeded. About an hour after count *Saxe* began his attack, and having fixed ladders to the walls, climbed on the ramparts at the head of the grenadiers who were under his command. Ordering all who opposed to be either killed or

E

disarmed,

disarmed, he forced his way to the next gate of the city, which he broke open, and gave entrance to the infantry and cavalry on that side, who made themselves masters of the avenues. The Count marched after towards the bridge, where he was presented with the keys of the town, in the name of the commander of the citizens. General *Ogilvie* came directly to him, and also the commander of the citadel, who surrendered as his prisoners of war, and delivered their swords to him. The attacks in every other part succeeded so well, that on the 26th at five in the morning, the besiegers were absolute masters of *Prague*. The elector of *Bavaria* was declared king of *Bohemia* the seventh of *December* following.

The fifth of *December* in the same year, 1741, was remarkable for the extraordinary revolution in *Russia*, in behalf of the princess *Elizabeth*, the since czarina. The new king of *Bohemia* was elected king of the *Romans*, and emperor the 24th of *January*, 1742, with all the usual ceremonies, under the name of *Charles VII.* and was crowned at *Frankfort*, the 12th of *February* following, with a profusion of magnificence, to which the *French* king contributed largely.

Count *Saxe* set out from *Dresden* the 25th of *January*, with count *Rutowski* for *Bohemia*, and joined marshal *Broglie* at *Pilsack*, where he had his head-quarters. The generals on both sides began to take the field in the beginning of *March*. Count *Saxe* was detached with a body of twelve thousand men to attack *Egra*, where the

the *Austrians* had their magazines under the guard of a strong garrison. He left *Prague* the 18th of *March*, and passed forwards towards *Egra*. On the second of *April* he invested it. Having received the reinforcements and artillery he stood in need of, and having under his Command the camp-marshals *Boufflers*, *Luxembourg*, and *Mirepoix*. On the seventh at night he opened the Trenches.

The regiment of *Roche-Chouart*, commanded by the duke of *Luxembourg*, was the first which opened the trenches on the side of the river; Count *Saxe* chusing to begin his operations in that place, because, as it was defended only by a ravelin, he judged it to be weakest thereabouts. On the 9th, the duke of *Boufflers*, with the regiment of *Berry*, relieved the trenches. Monsieur de *Mirepoix*, at the head of the regiment of *Beauce* on the 10th; which was relieved by the regiment of *Luxembourg*, under the duke of *Boufflers*'s command.

The works of these four nights being pushed to the glacis, count *Saxe* raised two batteries which produced the desired effect. The works were carried on with all imaginable success, considering the many intervening difficulties, until the 18th; during which time, there was a continual fire from the artillery and muskets of the besieged, which killed but twelve of the *French*, and wounded a few others. The commander seeing the enemy so near the body of the place, did not think it prudent to hold out longer; and that he might obtain favourable

terms, at eight o'clock in the morning of the 19th, he ordered a white flag to be hung out, and a parly to be founded. The same day the articles of capitulation were agreed upon, and signed on both sides as follows.

MAURICE de SAXE,

Commander of the siege.

DEFFING, Commander of *Egra*, and

Colonel of the regiment of *Botta*.

The taking of *Egra* was of the greatest consequence; for, besides securing the conquest of *Bohemia*, it procured a free communication between that kingdom, the *Upper-Palatinate* and *Bavaria*. Prince *Charles* having imagined that place, from its fortifications, to be impregnable, took no measures about succouring it. This conquest amazed every body, and added so much to the rising glory of count *Saxe*, that, from this period, they entertained a much higher opinion of him, than his resolute scaling of *Prague* had already given them. The emperor having ordered *Te Deum* to be sung on this unexpected occasion, wrote to count *Saxe* a letter of thanks with his own hand.

Count *Saxe* after this expedition repaired to *Dresden*, where he arrived the first of *May* following. Their *Polish* majesties, and the court, paid all the compliments his valour and experience deserved. Count *Bruhl* was one of the fore-

foremost to do him honour, and invited him to the splendid entertainment he had prepared for the duke *Saxe Weissenfels*. He from thence went to the court of *Russia*, to solicit for the restitution of an estate in right of his mother, which in regard to his own merit, joined to the intercession of the courts of *Dresden* and *Verfailles*, was granted, and great marks of esteem shewn to him.

He then returned to *Dresden*, and from thence to the army. His name became so formidable to the *Austrians*, that they trembled, and fled before him, unless when they were three times his numbers; for when he appeared before *Elnbogen*, there were in it near five thousand croats and hussars, strongly fortified, and furnished with every necessary for holding out of a month's siege at least. Notwithstanding which, they applied for a capitulation, which the count granted, and with this mark of ignominy, to go where they pleased: he possessed himself of their magazines, and ordered the wooden bridge which was over the *Egra* near that place to be burnt.

While the troops of the respective armies were looking out for winter-quarters, many skirmishes, but nothing decisive, happened. In the beginning of the year 1743, having obtained leave from the *French* court to raise a new regiment of *Hulans*, he set out for *Dresden*, and employed agents there for that purpose. In every other quarter, fortune declared against the emperor and *France* his ally, whilst the *Austrians*

enjoyed a series of successes. Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* had obtained a complete victory over the *Bavarians*, under the command of general *Minuzzi*, blocked up *Brunau*, attacked the post of *Dingelsing*, &c. which they carried.

The *Austrian* army, to add to their spirits, was strengthened by the junction of the *English* and *Hanoverian* forces, *George II.* king of *England*, and elector of *Hanover*, with his son at their head. This monarch now endeavoured to dethrone the emperor, to whom he had given his vote, but indeed a forced one, by the arrogance of *France*.

The *French* king sent marshal de *Noailles*, at the head of sixty-six battalions, and a hundred and thirty-eight squadrons in pursuit of the *English*, whom he was determined to make repent of their interfering in this continental war. Marshal de *Noailles*, by a superior stroke of generalship, had all appearances for him. He kept the king of *England's* army at bay, between which and his, flowed the river *Mein*. Having possessed himself of all the passes above and below the *English*, he prevented their receiving any provision.

The king of *England* posted himself at *Afchaffembourg*, a city on the *Mein*, which belongs to the elector of *Mentz*. This step had been taken by his *Britannic* majesty, who began to see his error, contrary to the advice of the earl of *Stair*, who commanded under him: he then saw his army blocked up by marshal de *Noailles*, without hopes of receiving any provision. Each
soldier

soldier was reduced to a half ration a day ; and the king found himself under a necessity of retiring towards *Hanau*, on the road to *Franckfort* ; which he could not do without being exposed to the fire from the *French* batteries of cannon, raised along the banks of the *Mein*.

No other resource remained for the army, on the point of perishing for want of subsistence, and whose rear-guard was liable to be over-whelmed by the *French*, than to make a forced march : but marshal *Noailles* had the precaution of throwing bridges over the *Mein*, between *Dettinghen* and *Aschaffembourg*, which bridges the *English* ought, by all means, to have destroyed, or at least have attempted so to do.

THE BATTLE OF DETTINGHEN.

On the 26th of *June*, in the middle of the night, the king of *England* ordered his army to decamp in the greatest silence. The count of *Noailles* encamped along the *Mein*, was the first to perceive their dangerous and precipitate retreat, of which he sent immediate notice to his father.

The marshal de *Noailles* instantly arose, came, and saw the *English* marching to their ruin, in a narrow road between a mountain and a river. He immediately ordered thirty squadrons, consisting of the king's household, dragoons, and hussars, to advance to the village of *Dettinghen*, before which the *English* were to pass. He also gave orders to four brigades of infantry, with
that

that of the *French* guards, to defile over the two bridges. These troops were ordered to remain in a hollow ground at the village of *Dettinghen*, where they were unperceived by the *English*, whilst marshal de *Noailles* observed all their movements.

Monsieur de *Valliere* lieutenant-general, (who had brought artillery to its greatest perfection) from the batteries on the banks of the river fired very briskly on the *English* as they passed through this defile, where he held them in check ; they were also to pass through a hollow way between *Dettinghen*, and a little rivulet. The *French* had orders not to attack them but with every possible advantage, which, if obeyed, the king of *England*, his son, and the whole army must have surrendered, or been cut to pieces. It was a crisis of such importance, that if rightly made use of, would have put an end to the war.

Sensible thereof, and attentive to his own glory, which this day's success would have for ever established, the marshal recommended over, and over again, to his nephew the duke of *Grammont*, lieutenant-general, and colonel of the *French* guards, to preserve his position, and there wait till the *English* should come and present themselves to him. He also reconnoitred a fording-place, in order to make a large body of cavalry advance, that he might be better placed to discover the situation of the enemy.

The *French* officers said, that he would have acted a more prudent part, to stay at the head
of

of his army, and see his orders obeyed ; but if success had crowned his plan, they would have spoken another language. He sent five brigades to occupy the post of *Aschaffembourg*. The *English* were in fact surrounded on every side.

A moment's impatience destroyed all *Noailles's* measures. The duke of *Grammont* having rashly imagined, the first column of the *English* to be already passed, and that it was his immediate duty to fall on their rear-guard, unable to make any resistance, he ordered his troops to march. The duke de *Chevruse* represented to him in the strongest terms, how dangerous (though valiant) his intention was. The count de *Noailles* earnestly entreated him to wait the return of his father.

The duke of *Grammont*, whose movements by this time had been observed by the *English*, thought it no time to stop, and imprudently quitted his advantageous situation, where he ought to have remained : he advanced with the guards, and with the regiment of *Noailles's* infantry to a little plain. The *English*, who defiled in order of battle, soon formed themselves, and were an army of fifty thousand men against thirty squadrons and five brigades of infantry. The *French* having fallen into the snare which had been laid for the *English*, attacked in a disorderly manner, and with unequal forces.

The cannon which monsieur de *Valliere*, had fixed along the bank of the *Mein*, thundered on the flank of king *George's* army, particularly the
Hano-

Hanoverians, who had also batteries which fired briskly on the front of the *French* troops. The great advantage the *French* had from their artillery, was soon frustrated, by their troops not only getting between it, but being mixed with the enemy ; so that there was no firing on the one, without destroying the other.

Marshal de *Noailles* returned the moment the fault was committed ; but this being no time for rebuke, he endeavoured to repair it as well as he could, by the bravery of his troops.

The cavalry of the king's household, with the carabineers, by the impetuosity of their attack, made two lines of *English* cavalry give way, who forming themselves in an instant, surrounded the *French*. The officers of the regiment of the guards, advanced boldly at the head of a weak body of infantry ; one and twenty of them were killed on the spot, and as many dangerously wounded. The regiment of guards was entirely routed.

The duke of *Chartres* (now duke of *Orleans*,) the prince of *Clermont*, the comte *D'Eu*, the duke of *Pentbievre*, who was then very young, used all efforts to stop the confusion. The count de *Noailles* had two horses killed under him ; his brother the duke of *D'Ayen* was thrown off his horse. The marquis de *Puisegur*, son to a marshal of that name, halloed to the soldiers of his regiment, ran after, rallied all he could of them, and slew several who refusing to return, cried, ' All is lost ! make the best of your way.' The
princes,

princes, and the dukes de *Biron*, *Luxembourg*, *Boufflers*, *Chevreuse*, and *Pequigny*, put themselves at the head of the brigades they met, and with them broke into the lines of the *English*.

The king's household, and the carabineers, still undismayed by opposition of superior numbers, fought in parties, consisting in one place of a company of guards, and two hundred musquetaires in another, of companies of cavalry advancing with the *Chevaux Legers*: others following the carabineers, or the horse grenadiers, ran at the *English* sword in hand, and with more intrepidity than order; and indeed, so little was there, that about fifty musquetaires hurried on by their courage, penetrated into a celebrated *English* regiment called the *Greys*, consisting of chosen men, all well mounted.

It is easy to imagine what must be the fate of fifty young men mounted on light horses, against a superiority of number, and weight of horses: they were almost all killed, wounded, or taken prisoners in this rash attack. Marquis de *Fenelon*'s son was amongst the last; seven and twenty officers of the horse of the king's household fell in this battle, and sixty-six were dangerously wounded. The counts *D'Eu*, *D'Harcourt*, *de Beuvron*, and the duke de *Boufflers* were wounded; the count de *la Motte-Houdancourt*'s horse was killed under him, and being tumbled about by the feet of the horses, was carried off the field almost dead; the marquis de *Gontaud*'s arm was broke; the duke de *Roche-Chouart*, first gentleman of the bed-

bed-chamber, who had already two wounds, yet still continuing to fight, was killed on the spot ; where also fell the marquis *Sabran, de Fleuri*, with the counts *D'Estrades*, and *Restaing*.

Among the many remarkable occurrences of this fatal day, the death of young *Boufflers*, of the branch of *Remiencourt*, ought not to be let pass by unnoticed : almost a child, being not above ten years and a half old, his little leg was broke with a cannon ball : he received the wound, and saw his leg cut off with surprising calmness. His extreme youth and courage affected, and drew tears from all who were spectators of his disaster.

The loss was as considerable on the side of the *English* ; their brave general *Clayton* fell in the action. The king of *England* fought on foot, and on horse-back, sometimes at the head of the infantry, at other times of the cavalry. His wearing a yellow sash that day, which seemed to intimate a predilection for his electoral dominions, gave great offence to the *English*, who on this point are jealous in the extreme. The duke of *Cumberland* was wounded by his father's side, duke *D'Aremberg*, general of the *Austrians*, was wounded in the breast by a musket-ball ; several *English* officers of distinction were killed.

This too unequal battle lasted three hours ; courage alone was to defend itself against valour, numbers, and discipline. At length marshal *de Noailles* gave orders for a retreat, which was made with confusion.

The

The king of *England* ate a hasty dinner on the field of battle, and, startled at his unexpected victory, decamped with so much precipitaton, as not to carry off the wounded of his army, who were about six hundred. Lord *Stair* recommended them to the generous humanity of marshal de *Noailles*.

By the letters these two generals wrote to each other, it appears to what a point politeness may be cultivated amongst the horrors of war. Lord *Stair's* to the marshal, dated *Hanau*, *June* the 30th, was as follows :

‘ I have sent back all the *French* prisoners, and have given orders, that those in the hands of the *Hanoverians* should be discharged. Permit me, Sir, to embrace this opportunity of thanking you, for your generous proceeding, which corresponds with the high idea I had always entertained for the duke of *Noailles*. Your humane treatment of the wounded exacts all our thanks.’

In this battle, like some others, a great many noble actions were done, and much blood was spilt, without either side reaping any advantage. The impatience of the duke of *Grammont* made one of the best-laid military schemes prove abortive. The king of *England* acquired nothing but honour ; for, immediately after he had hastily dined on the field of battle, he repaired to *Hanau*, in order to find subsistence for his army.

Some weeks after the battle, Lord *Stair* told a *French* gentleman, in their conversation about
F the

the battle of *Dettinghen*, ‘ Your countrymen
 ‘ committed one fault, but we two ; that of
 ‘ your countrymen was, their having come
 ‘ out of the *Ravin*, and not having waited for
 ‘ us there. The two faults on our side were,
 ‘ *First*, To have exposed ourselves to such dan-
 ‘ ger, which was entirely against my advice, but
 ‘ I was over-ruled. And, *Secondly*, Not to have
 ‘ made the most of the victory, which it was my
 ‘ opinion we should, but was therein over-ruled
 ‘ again.’

No man living could have more reason to
 complain than marshal de *Noailles* had : he saw
 the noblest plan that could be imagined destroy-
 ed by a hasty movement. Yet he laid the blame
 on no particular person, a tender friendship for
 his nephew stifled his resentments. He observed,
 in his letter to the king, ‘ That a more exact
 ‘ discipline in the army would be requisite.’

A few days after the battle, the following
 letter from an *English* officer, to his friend at
Paris, was handed about there, and contained
 these extraordinary terms.

‘ The unpardonable blunder of the *French*
 ‘ officer who prematurely commanded the at-
 ‘ tack ; the personal bravery of our troops, and
 ‘ the visible protection of providence, have
 ‘ snatched us from a most dangerous hole into
 ‘ which we had been plunged, by the glaring
 ‘ incapacity of our leaders to command an ar-
 ‘ my.’

Affairs going badly on all sides against the
Bavarian emperor, *Charles VII.* the *French*
 found

found themselves under a necessity of dropping all their notions of putting him in possession of *Prague* and *Vienna*, and to repair to the defence of the frontiers of their own country, against the victorious armies of prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, and the king of *England*. Prince *Charles* having passed the *Rhine*, was repulsed with great loss, by count de *Berengiers*. Count *Saxe* was in *Upper Alsatia*, with the remains of marshal *Broglio's* army, and some troops drawn from the frontier-towns. Neither prince *Charles*, nor the king of *England*, could gain any advantage over the *French* on the *Rhine*.

Our motive for giving a detail of the battle of *Dettinghen* here, in which count *Saxe* was not concerned, is, because it was the prologue to the great affairs he has been since employed in ; and to shew, at the same time, what *English* bravery is capable of, when well commanded ; and also, how much *Britannia* is the object of heaven's peculiar care, in not letting our illustrious monarch fall into the hands of his enemies, (as they had strong reason to hope) to our indelible shame.

Count *Lowendabl*, (who had been in the *Russian* service, since the year 1736, as lieutenant-general of the army, and of the artillery, having distinguished himself on many occasions, by his personal desert, and consummate experience in the business of war ;) in the year 1739 was appointed chief general of the armies, and appointed governor-general of the dutchy of *Estonia* and *Revel*. However, he repaired to

France in the year 1743, to seek employment, where he was most graciously received.

The *French* king gave him immediately the rank of lieutenant-general ; and above the usual pay of such officers, granted a considerable pension, permitting him at the same time to raise a *German* regiment in his own name. He raised one in a very short time, which behaved with great intrepidity on every occasion, wherever it was employed. Count *Saxe*, who had given orders for a regiment of *Hulans* to be raised for him, was informed, that, in the beginning of the next campaign, it would be ready to take the field.

In the beginning of the year 1744, the *French* king came to a resolution to declare war against the king of *England*, and the queen of *Hungary* ; pretending no farther measures could be observed either with the *English* or the *Austrians* ; the former had repeatedly insulted his navigation ; the latter had endeavoured to carry the war into the provinces of *France*, and in violation of a cartel agreed on in the year 1741, refused to return any prisoners of war. Count *Saxe*, entirely taken up about the military operations for the ensuing campaign, employed the whole winter in forming plans, relative to which he had many conferences with the *French* ministry, and the king their master. The first object of them was a secret and daring expedition, which, if successful, would have caused a sudden revolution in the affairs of *Europe*.

The

The dethroned family of the *Stuarts*, which had languished above half a century in exile, received private encouragement to try the zeal of their friends in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. Prince *Charles-Edward*, grandson of *James* the Second king of *England*, and son of him known thro' *Europe* under the title of Pretender, joined to the spirit of his youth, a most enterprising and determined courage. He then declared, that a head to him, unless possessed of a diadem, was an useless incumbrance.

France, that had been so long the asylum of this unfortunate family, judged it necessary to support their claims; and imagined that *Lewis* the XVth might, in his first campaign, re-establish the emperor in his invaded territories, and young *Stuart* in the throne of *Great Britain*. He set out from *Rome* the 9th of *January* 1744; the secrecy and diligence with which his journey was planned and executed, indicated a person designed by Providence for great undertakings; he even concealed it from his brother, by whom he was beloved with mutual affection, knowing full well that he would have insisted on accompanying him.

On the 13th of the same month he arrived at *Genoa*, where he assumed the character of a *Spanish* courier; and, attended but by one domestic, he embarked the next day for *Antibes*, and soon reached *Paris*. The necessary preparations for landing him in *England* were carried on with equal secrecy in *France*.

Lewis XV. made an effort little suspected by the *English*, considering the bad situation his naval force had been in for a number of years. Six and twenty ships of war were fitted out at *Brest* and *Rochefort*, with almost incredible dispatch. A rumour was also industriously spread, that they were to be joined by the *Spanish* fleet, which had been two years at *Toulon*, blocked up there by the fleet of admiral *Matthews*.

A considerable body of troops marched towards *Dunkirk*, in order to go on board the transports, there in readiness for them. Count *Saxe* was appointed to command this expedition. In the mean time twenty ships of war sailed from *Brest*, with four thousand men, besides a great quantity of arms, and ammunition of every sort. They steered between the isles of *Ushant* and *Sorlingues*, under the command of monsieur *de Roquefeuille*, where he was to be joined by five other ships of war from *Rochefort*, under the command of *M. du Barail*.

From thence the *French* fleet sailed into the *English* channel, and divided itself into three squadrons; the strongest, consisting of fourteen ships, coasted along the *Kentish* shore; the second stationed itself between *Calais* and *Boulogne*; and the third advanced towards *Dunkirk*.

Count *Saxe* embarked the first of *March* with nine battalions, and the count *du Chaila* the following day with six more. The young Pretender was on board the same ship with count *Saxe*, and

beheld,

beheld, for the first time, the inviting cliffs of England.

Tendebatque manus ripæ ulterioris amore. VIRG.

which he anticipated in thought, his heart, and every impulse of his soul, having already flown thither.

His hopes were soon nipt and blasted by the violence of a sudden tempest, which dashing the transports with impetuosity against the *French* shore, several soldiers perished as they attempted to land. The undaunted adventurer was for attempting the passage, even with one vessel; his forward courage seeming to assure him, that he needed only to land on the *British* shore, erect his standard, and be acknowledged sovereign of three kingdoms; but neither the outrageous driving of the sea, nor the then disposition of affairs would let them, by whose counsel he was to be guided, suffer him to attempt so hazardous a proceeding, tho' they could not help admiring that heroism, which they thought it then imprudent to second.

They had got some intimation in *London*, from the 15th of *February* preceding, of this intended expedition; wherefore the duke of *Newcastle*, agreeable to the orders of the king his master, wrote to Mr. *Thompson*, charged at that time with the affairs of his *Britannic* majesty at the *French* court, to this purpose.

‘ His majesty having received certain advice,
‘ that the eldest son of the Pretender had left

‘ *Rome*

‘ Rome the 27th or 28th of last *December*, old
 ‘ stile, and arrived at *Antibes* the 17th of *Ja-*
 ‘ *nuary*; it is the king’s pleasure, that you go
 ‘ to Mr. *Amelot*, and tell him that you have
 ‘ received his majesty’s commands to inform
 ‘ him of this advice, and to observe to him, that,
 ‘ considering the engagements his most Chri-
 ‘ stian majesty has entered into, relative to the
 ‘ Pretender and his heirs, the king no longer
 ‘ doubted, but that, in case this advice was
 ‘ truly founded, his most Christian majesty would
 ‘ order that prince’s speedy departure from his
 ‘ territories, &c.’

Before the receipt of the duke’s letter, Mr. *Thompson* had been apprised of all that passed; and in consequence of these prevailing reports at that time, was getting ready to repair to *Ver-sailles*, when he received the duke of *Newcastle*’s instructions, agreeable to which he waited on monsieur d’*Amelot*, and communicated the letter he had just received from the *British* court.

The *French* minister’s answer was, ‘ That as
 ‘ he (Mr. *Thompson*) spoke by order of the
 ‘ king his master, it was necessary that he
 ‘ should also have orders from his; and that he
 ‘ would inform him of his master’s intentions,
 ‘ relative to the affair in debate, as soon as he
 ‘ should come to a knowledge of them.’

This vague and unsatisfactory answer was immediately dispatched to *London*, whither Mr. *Thompson*, about eight days after, sent the following letter.

‘ I have

* I have learned nothing farther since my
 ' last to you; have been this morning at *Ver-*
 ' *failles*, where, in the name of his master,
 ' monsieur *D'Amelot* gave me the following de-
 ' claration, to wit, The engagements entered
 ' into by treaties are only binding so far as
 ' they are religiously observed on both sides:
 ' when his *Britannic* majesty shall have given
 ' satisfaction relative to the trespasses committed
 ' with his sanction, contrary to the spirit of those
 ' treaties he appeals to, and to which repeated
 ' remonstrances have been made, then the most
 ' Christian king will give an answer quite satis-
 ' factory to Mr. *Thompson's* demand, in the name
 ' of the king of *England*.

At *Paris*, the 25th of *Feb.* 1744.

The *Dutch*, as allies to king *George*, had al-
 ready sent him two thousand men, and were
 bound to furnish six thousand more, according
 to the treaty of the year 1716. Admiral *Nor-*
ris was with a formidable squadron in the *Downs*,
 and the people at land up in arms. Thus failed a
 plot, conducted with the most art the *English*
 had ever shewn; for though king *George* was
 convinced of a conspiracy against him, he never
 could find the authors of it: for those taken up
 in *London* gave no insight thereto, and left the
 government in the same darkness, confusion,
 and trouble, which they had been involved in
 before.

Count *Saxe*, on the failure of the expedition,
 which many concurring circumstances seemed
 to

to promise success to, returned from *Dunkirk* to *Paris*, and had for some days frequent conferences with monsieur *D'Argenson*, and the king, who having resolved to put himself at the head of his army in *Flanders*, appointed the general officers who were to serve under him; and to give his subjects, as well as his enemies, a convincing proof of the great confidence he had in the superior abilities of count *Saxe*, he promoted him to the dignity of marshal of *France*.

About this time admiral *Matthews* fought the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain* in the *Mediterranean*, without any considerable advantage on either side. Young *Stuart* having bewailed his disappointments, with some faithful adherents to his house's fortune, set out from *Dunkirk*, and lived in a very retired manner near *Paris*, visiting the *French* court but seldom, whose sincerity in regard to his interest he had perhaps some reason to doubt.

All warmly affected persons to the illustrious family, (who daily showers happiness on the people of *England*, and whose interest alone they study, preferable to all interest on the continent, whatever malignants may assert to the contrary) must reflect with pleasure on the providence of heaven, on our most benign and gracious sovereign *George II.* to wit, 1. His miraculous escape from the most imminent danger at *Dettinghen*. And, 2. This kind intervention of the storm, which defeated the *Dunkirk* expedition, whose consequences must make every lover

of

of our holy religion and liberty shudder but even to think on.

To quiet the resentment of the queen of *Spain* for what had happened in the *Mediterranean*, she not being thoroughly satisfied with the behaviour of the *French* fleet, its admiral *du Court* was exiled, war was declared against king *George*, elector of *Hanover*, the 15th of *March* 1744; and against the queen of *Hungary*, the 26th of *April* following, who both declared war against *France*; which, on both sides, was but meer matter of ceremony, they having been long since in actual hostilities one against the other.

England espoused the *Austrian* interest with warmth; increased their subsidy to them; expended several millions; kept a fleet in the *Mediterranean* sea, which destroyed the trade of *Provence*, and sent into *Flanders* their forces which had fought at *Dettinghen*, and when joined by the *Dutch* and *Flemish* regiments in the beginning of that campaign, they all amounted to above sixty thousand men. Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, with an army equally formidable, wanted to force a passage over the *Rhine*. The emperor, reduced to a miserable situation, preserved the remains of his scattered army, under the cannon of the imperial city of *Philipsbourg*, and expected at *Frankfort*, that either the *French* king would fix him in the empire, or the queen of *Hungary* would deprive him of it. It was in such perilous circumstances as these that the *French* king commenced general.

LEWIS the XV's first CAMPAIGN.

The king gave count *Saxe* the command of a body of troops, which was to make part of his army: the count, having received his last instructions, set out from *Paris* on his way to *Lisse*, and in the middle of *April* arrived there: the movements he ordered his troops to make were so varied, that the allied army could not penetrate into his scheme; his troops consisted of thirty-two battalions, and fifty-eight squadrons complete.

Marshal *de Coigni* was sent to guard the *Rhine* with sixty-one battalions, and a hundred squadrons. The *Bavarian* troops, amounting to about twelve thousand in the *French* pay, were under the command of count *Seckendorff*, whose fidelity was unsuspected as yet. Marshal *de Noailles* was general of the army in *Flanders*, consisting of sixty-eight battalions and ninety squadrons complete.

The face of affairs in *Flanders* this year appeared quite different from what it had been the foregoing, at the time cardinal *de Fleuri* died; then the *English* might have made an advantageous incursion on the frontiers of *France*, which they afterwards attempted, but too late; for their allies the *Dutch*, who had refused to co-operate in this enterprize when practicable, came into it when it was no longer possible.

The *French* king preferred a campaign in *Flanders* to one on the *Rhine*, judging that it would

would be merely defensive on the *Rhine*, whereas in *Flanders* all necessary preparations had been made to act offensively against the *Austrian Netherlands*. He left *Versailles* the 3d of *May*, and arrived at *Lisse* the 12th, visiting all the posts in his route thither. He made a general review of all his army. His aides de camp were messieurs de *Meuze*, de *Richelieu*, de *Luxembourg*, de *Boufflers*, d'*Aumont*, d'*Ayen*, de *Soubise*, de *Pequigny*.

The *English* troops were commanded by general *Wade*, a veteran officer, and, like Lord *Stair*, bred under the duke of *Marlborough*; consequently he knew *Flanders* well, having formerly served a long time there; and much was expected from his experience and abilities. The duke of *Artemberg* commanded the *Austrians*; and count *Maurice* of *Nassau* the *Dutch*. These three generals might have impeded the *French* king's plan of operations, had they been unanimous, which, luckily for *Lewis* the XVth, they were not.

The king having divided his army into two parts, he ordered them to begin their march early in the morning of the 17th of *May*. That part commanded by count *Saxe* advanced the same day as far as the bridge of *Espierre*, and the next day to *Courtray*, where he fixed his head quarters. The king's army marched in four columns, under the command of the duke of *Biron*, and the counts *Houdancourt*, de la *Motte*, and *Clermont*.

Menin was invested the 18th of *May*; it is one of the barrier towns; the trenches were opened the 19th in the king's presence, who encouraged the men by his liberality. While the works were continued with vigour before this place, count *Saxe*, who observed the enemy with his army, sent out several detachments to take possession of all the posts which were properest for him, in order to raise contributions. One of his detachments brought to the king's camp, the 21st, a considerable booty they had taken. His hussars made excursions to the very gates of *Ghent*, driving away with them all the cattle they met. Count *Saxe* had posted six thousand men between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, at a place called *Bellem*, where they took a small fortress, with six pieces of cannon in it. On the 4th of *June* the covered-way was taken; on the 5th the town capitulated, being the first the king took in person. The officer who had commanded there was allowed to depart with all the honours of war. The king made his public entry into the town the 7th, assisted at the *Te Deum*; and having visited the fortifications, returned to *Lisse* the 8th, having left orders to raze the fortifications of *Menin*. *Ypres*, *la Knocke* and *Furnes*, were made rapid conquests, which the allied army saw, and could not oppose: for the body commanded by marshal *Saxe* was too well posted, and covered the different sieges so à-propos, that they could not fail.

The progress of the king's successful arms in *Flanders* was stopt by the disagreeable news of prince

prince *Charles* with his army having passed the *Rhine* near *Spire*, in sight of the *French* and *Bavarians*; and that *Alsatia*, as well as the frontiers of *Lorraine*, were greatly harrassed by them.

The king, in a grand council called at *Dunkirk*, on this extraordinary emergency, resolved that a considerable detachment of his army should immediately move towards *Alsace*. He declared a determination of going thither to command his troops in person, and to leave the command of the army destined to remain in *Flanders*, to count *Saxe*. Pursuant to this resolution, on the 19th of *July* 1744, the king set out from *Dunkirk* for *Metz*, whither the troops filed off in several columns; marshal *Saxe* being left behind with but an army of from forty to forty-five thousand men, to oppose an army of between sixty and seventy thousand.

Notwithstanding the superiority of the allies, they attempted nothing in *Flanders*. The military skill of count *Saxe* made up for his want of numbers. He so judiciously watched his enemies, that all their schemes proved abortive. The masterly dispositions which he made, in order to keep them inactive during the remainder of the campaign, are admired by all connoisseurs in the military art, and are looked on as what does the greatest honour to his generalship.

Perhaps it will not be readily believed by posterity, that an army provided with every thing, unwearied by any expedition, and consisting of more than seventy thousand men, should be deter-

terred from forming any enterprize against another, which had suffered the repeated fatigue of five or six sieges, and was besides harrassed by the diversity of movements it was obliged to make, daily forced to do duty in several places, in order to preserve them, and did not exceed by much the number of forty thousand.

The 4th of *August*, the king, on his arrival at *Metz*, saw there the first detachment of the army from *Flanders*, and the rest successively arrived soon after. Marshal *de Noailles* went to Mr. *de Coigni* on the 6th, that they might consult together what were the properest measures to be taken: but a new and more serious cause of alarm for *France* happened; the king, as he was preparing to set out from *Metz* for *Strasbourg*, fell sick in the night between the 7th and the 8th.

Prince *Charles* caused more terror than he reaped advantage from his having passed the *Rhine*; for the *French* troops made so noble a stand against, and baffled him every where, that the *Austrians* found themselves frustrated in their designs, and therefore were obliged to content themselves with raising some contributions in *Alsatia*.

At this juncture, pursuant to a secret treaty of union agreed on at *Frankfort*, between the kings of *France* and *Prussia*, the emperor, and other members of the empire, his *Prussian* majesty marched at the head of a formidable army to make a diversion in *Bohemia*, which greatly surprized most of the courts in *Europe*, as such a step must
not

not only disconcert but counteract all the projects of the court of *Vienna*. This prince, who is never wanting to himself in reasons for what he thinks expedient to do, published an explanatory manifesto of this proceeding.

Prince *Charles* beginning to despair of his being able to execute the intended plan of operations against the *French* dominions, and fearing lest he might be cut off in such a manner, as not to have it in his power to repass the *Rhine*, if he delayed longer, resolved to cross it with all his army. He observed that the *French* received daily reinforcements; and had the disagreeable advice of the *Prussians* being in full march to *Prague*. These were sufficient motives to determine his retreat: accordingly, on the 23d of *August*, his van-guard passed the *Rhine*, and the rest followed with all possible speed. His entire army was on the other side of the river on the 25th: the rear-guard of the *Austrians*, consisting of all the grenadiers, suffered; and its loss was computed to have been about two thousand men.

The *French* troops also passed the *Rhine*, and pursued prince *Charles*, who retired towards *Rastadt*; this prince's design being to divide his army, in order to send a part of it to the assistance of *Bohemia*, and the other into *Bavaria*: he decamped soon after, and set fire to a village to conceal his march, and secure his retreat. Count *de Noailles* was sent to that village with a detachment of grenadiers: it being almost night when he arrived, he drew up his men on the other side

of it, to be in readiness to attack the enemy at break of day next morning.

Prince *Charles* had the precaution to place on the skirts of some woods, which they must go round, in order to reach him, two and thirty companies of grenadiers, with all his irregulars. These different bodies were distributed behind marshy grounds, covered with redoubts and retrenchments, a rivulet and a very deep ditch separating them from the *French*.

Early next morning, orders for an attack were given by count *de Noailles*. The rivulet and the ditch were leap'd over one after the other, and the redoubts carried at the same time. Notwithstanding the enemy's fire, they forced their way into the enemy's entrenchments, compelled them to fly, and continued in pursuit of them till night: the loss the *Austrians* sustained on this occasion, amounted to near three thousand killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

The king of *Prussia* complained greatly of prince *Charles's* army having been let to escape out of *Alsatia*, with so much impunity, from a superior army of *French*, to come and disturb his operations in *Bohemia*. This escape, which was also a sensible disadvantage to *France*, must be imputed to the king's dangerous sickness, and the confusion his commanding officers were in at the uncertainty of his fate.

As soon as the king began to recover, to the inexpressible joy of all his subjects, and was capable of the least application, he entered upon business in his chamber, with his generals and
mi.

ministers of state. His first orders were given to chevalier *de Belleisle*, to attack the entrenchments of *Suffelsheim*, which he carried sword in hand: He ordered count *Clermont* to go and make himself master of *Constance*; which this prince accordingly did.

The siege of *Fribourg* was resolved on, in a grand council held at *Mentz*, in order to facilitate the taking up winter-quarters in the *Brisgau*, where the troops intended for the operations of the next campaign might be advantageously cantoned: in which view, his majesty ordered to march thither, in four divisions, sixty-two battalions with as many squadrons.

The 30th of *September*, in the night, the trenches were opened before that place; but not until the 6th of *October* were the batteries in a condition of acting. Notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the remonstrances of all the physicians, the king declared he would not move from thence until the surrender of the place. This determination inspired additional vigour into his troops, who proceeded with the greatest alacrity. The taking of *Fribourg*, so fortified by nature and art, was the triumph of *French* courage and perseverance, which but exert themselves the more, as growing difficulties seem to oppose. After the king made his triumphant entry into *Fribourg*, he set out for *Paris*, and arrived there the 13th of *November*, where he remained three days, during which were all manner of rejoicings for his recovery.

All this time count *Saxe*, notwithstanding the great superiority of the allied army, so puzzled them by his motions, that nothing considerable was attempted. The *Castillany* of *Lisle* indeed was infested by their irregular troops, and some contributions were raised. However, the count, from the information which he had of the preparations they were making, suspected they had a design upon *Lisle*, wherefore he reinforced its garrison, and supplied the place with every thing necessary against a siege.

The conquest of this city would have been of great service to the allies. It seemed to engross all their attention, and all their movements tended only to draw off count *Saxe*, that they might accomplish their scheme; but this great commander, guessing what they were at, took all necessary precautions to defeat their design. For he made so many marches and counter-marches, without quitting his posts, that they could never conclude to a certainty on his real intent. They stood in awe of his generalship, and were in apprehensions of being attacked by him.

Thus the two armies made the campaign in mutually watching each other, and the severity of the season not permitting the field to be kept any longer, the troops on both sides went into winter-quarters. Count *Saxe* having given the command of his army to the marquis de *Ceberet* in his absence, left *Flanders*, and arrived at *Versailles* the thirteenth of *December*; and thus ended there the campaign of 1744. During which, from the month of *August* to *November*, this general

neral displayed all the cunning of war, in which neither fortune nor bravery of troops can claim any share. These were his arts; to camp and decamp à-propos, to protect the country, and make his army subsist at the enemy's expence, then march to attack their country, when they seemed determined to commit hostilities in that which he defended, and thereby compel them to retire; to conquer by skill, though inferior in strength: all this count *Saxe* did, which is esteemed as one of the most masterly instances of military conduct.

Immediately after the arrival of the generals, several councils were held in the king's presence at *Versailles*, upon the operations of the ensuing year. Count *Saxe* assisted at all these councils. His political conduct in the affairs of *Flanders* had won to him the king's confidence to such a degree, that he had several private conferences with him. All the plans he proposed had the happiness of meeting with the royal approbation.

The allies endeavoured, on their side, to strengthen their forces by encreasing their party; in which view, a treaty of union was signed the eighth of *January* 1745, at *Warsaw*, by the queen of *Hungary*, the king of *England* elector of *Hanover*, the king of *Poland* elector of *Saxony*, and the *States-General*.

As *M. Van Hoey*, the then *Dutch* ambassador to the most Christian king, was soon after walking in the gallery of *Versailles*, he asked count *Saxe* what he thought of the treaty of *Warsaw*? His reply was, " That *France* was very little
" affected

“ affected by it, and that if his master would
“ give him *Carte Blanche*, before the end of that
“ year he would go and read the original at the
“ *Hague*.” The ambassador smiling, rejoined,
“ Count *Saxe* is always merry.” “ No truly,”
answered the count, “ but your republic makes
“ very ungrateful returns for his majesty’s indul-
“ gent treatment of it.”

In the beginning of the year 1745, the emperor was seized with a most violent fit of the gout; which attack daily increasing, on the twentieth of *January* his imperial majesty expired at *Munich*, which left the throne of the empire vacant, at a time when *Germany* was up in arms. The deceased emperor left a son about eighteen years old, who succeeded him in his electoral dignity, and all other hereditary rights annexed to his house.

The *French* troops in *Germany* could continue there no longer, in quality of auxiliaries to the emperor; the union-treaty of *Franckfort* ceasing at his death, they were ordered to evacuate the places they had possessed themselves of in *Austria*, and to approach to the *Rhine*. From these events, the court of *Vienna* began to conceive great hopes, and set all engines at work, in order to detach the young elector from the *French* interest, which was brought about by the intrigues of count *Seckendorff*, who had been long suspected by the *French* of foul play.

The court of *Versailles* had tried all imaginable means of procuring a peace during that winter; but in vain. The king therefore declared,

clared, that he would command in person the army in *Flanders*; and at the same time notified that marshal *Saxe*, in that expedition, was to be charged with the execution of his orders, who having received his last instructions, set out without delay, determined that his conduct should justify the *French* king's opinion of him.

The siege of *TOURNAY*, and battle of *FONTENOY*.

Marshal *Saxe* having kept the allied army in suspense, by several marches and counter-marches, threatening at one time *Aeth*, at another *Mons*, appeared suddenly before *Tournay*, and invested it the 25th of *April*, having so far deceived the enemy as to put it out of their power to prevent his design.

Tournay is one of the strongest of the frontier places. The fortifications of the city and citadel are reckoned amongst the master-pieces of monsieur *de Vauban*, by whom *Lewis XIV.* had all the places in *Flanders* fortified.

The inhabitants of *Tournay* loved to be under the *French* government, and not so much because this city is one of their antient patrimonies, as on account of the emolument it thence derives, preferring the *French* magnificence, which enriches a place, to the *Dutch* æconomy, which starves it. But the inclinations of the people are no object of consideration in fortified towns. Never attacked, they do not think of defending themselves, and are given over by one government to another, in virtue of capitulations, about which they are never consulted.

At

At the beginning of the siege of *Tournay*, a melancholy accident happened: Count *de Taleyrand*, colonel of the regiment of *Normandy*, was in the trenches under the command of the duke of *Biron*. Near a cavalier which had been raised, there stood a barrel of powder. The duke of *Biron*, who had reposed part of the night on a bear-skin near count *de Taleyrand*, remembered his promise to go and spend the other part of it with *M. de Meuse*; which he resolved on in spite of all *M. de Taleyrand's* remonstrances to the contrary. The duke was scarce gone, when a soldier trying the priming of his musket, let fall some sparks of fire on the barrel of powder, which blew the cavalier up into the air, and *M. de Taleyrand* with about eighty soldiers, whose scattered members fell all around.

The garrison of *Tournay*, spectators of this fatal accident, scoffed at the *French*, and used the most insulting expressions. Some companies of grenadiers, having lost all patience at their insolence, answered in another manner than scurrilous terms: they sallied from their trenches, and ran on the glaxis of the covered-way, (tho' matters had not been yet brought to a point for attacking it) they jumped into the covered-way in an unprepared and disorderly manner, and without officers, exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery and musketry. In the mean time the duke of *Biron* being informed of this action, which had been inspired by resentment, and which courage justified, sent gabions immediately to them, in order to lodge securely these
brave

brave fellows in the covered-way their gallantry had made them masters of.

As soon as the States-General had learned that *Tournay* was in danger, they sent orders to their general to risk a battle, in order to succour the place. In this instance these frugal republicans, contrary to their usual slowness and caution, were the first to declare for resolute measures.

The 5th of *May* the allies advanced as far as *Cambron*, within seven leagues of *Tournay*. The *French* king and the dauphin left *Paris* the 6th, which gave that metropolis new anxiety on seeing the father and son, the latter very young and but lately married, going to expose themselves to all the fatigues and dangers of a campaign.

No entrenchments had as yet been made in the lines of circumvallation before *Tournay*; nor was an army of observation formed, because that twenty battalions and forty squadrons, drawn from the main army, under the command of prince *Conti*, had not as yet arrived. Tho' the inhabitants of *Paris* had been alarmed with contrary accounts, it is certain that the king's army was by much superior in number to that of the allies, having sixty battalions and eighty squadrons more. But this superiority did not come in play on the day of battle. Some regiments not being arrived as yet, others were left to guard the trenches before *Tournay*, and some posted to preserve the bridges of communication. However, it must be owned that the superiority of number was on the side of the *French*.

The principal strength of the allied army consisted of twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons, under the command of the duke of *Cumberland*. Five battalions and sixteen squadrons of *Hanoverians* were joined to the *English*. The prince of *Waldeck* had the command of twenty-six battalions and forty squadrons *Dutch*. The *Austrians* had but eight squadrons in this army, tho' the war in *Flanders* was for them; but *Flanders* had long been defended by the arms and money of *England* and *Holland*. The *Austrians* indeed were under the command of the old general *Konigseg*, who had commanded against the *Turks* in *Hungary*, and against the *French* in *Italy* and in *Germany*. His sage experience was to moderate the impetuosity of the two young princes, *Cumberland* and *Waldeck*: their army was above fifty thousand.

The *French* king left eighteen thousand men before *Tournay*, six thousand to guard the bridges on the *Escaut*, and the communications. This army was under the command of a general in whom great confidence was reposed. Count *Saxe* at this time was but in a bad state of health, and set out very sickly for the army. Being asked what he proposed to do in so feeble a condition, he replied, "The question is not now about living, but to make my exit with honour."

The king arrived the sixth at *Douay*; and as he was going to bed, received an express from marshal *Saxe*, which informed him, that the enemy was approaching, and would soon be in sight. Whereupon he said to his *Aides de Camp*,
 " Gen-

“Gentlemen, no time shall be lost, I set out to-morrow morning at five o’clock. Let not the dauphin be disturbed.”

Next day being the 7th of *May*, the king went to *Pont à Cbin* near the *Escaut*, and not far from the trenches of *Tournay*. The dauphin, who had received information of the king’s departure, joined him there, and accompanied him to reconnoitre the ground designed for the battle. Acclamations rang through all the army, on seeing the king and dauphin. The allied army passed all the 10th, and the night to the 11th, in making their final dispositions.

The king was uncommonly chearful on the eve of the battle. The general topic of conversation was, all those battles in which kings were present. *Lewis* the XVth observed, that since the battle of *Poitiers*, no king of *France* and his son had been in the field together, and that none of them had obtained any signal victory over the *English*: he hoped his should prove the first.

He was the first up the day of battle. At four o’clock he call’d up monsieur *d’Argenson*, minister of war, who immediately sent to count *Saxe* for his last orders. He was found in a carriage made of osiers, that served him for a bed, and in which he had himself drawn, when too weak to ride on horseback. The marshal told the officer sent to him by count *d’Argenson*, that the king’s guards should be ordered to advance to the post of reserve he had assigned for them, with the carabineers, whom he looked upon as a cer-

tain resource, in case of necessity. It was a novelty to make such a disposition of the troops the enemy dreaded most.

The numerous suite of the king and the dauphin was followed by a multitude of people of all conditions, drawn by curiosity to see that day's action; and, in order to see it the better, many of them got up into the trees.

The village of *Antoin* was near the *Escaut*, nine hundred toises from the bridge of *Calonne*, over which the king and dauphin advanced. The village of *Fontenoy* was a hundred toises distant from *Antoin*; afterwards, situate towards the north, is a piece of ground four hundred toises large, between the wood of *Barri* and *Fontenoy*.

The general took all precautions relative to a victory or a defeat. The bridge of *Calonne* was mounted with cannon, fortified with entrenchments, and defended by one battalion of the guards, one of the *Swiss*, and three of the militia; this was designed as the retreating place for the king and dauphin, in case of a disaster: The rest of the army were to march (if defeated) over the bridges on the lower *Escaut* near *Tournay*.

Three redoubts were raised in a hurry, midway between two villages, in a place deemed more accessible to the enemy than the rest of the way was: marshal *de Noailles* had them raised in the night; each redoubt was mounted with a battery of cannon, one of eight pieces, the two others of four each. They were called the redoubts of *Bettens*, because the *Swiss* regiment of *Bettens*, with that of *Dießbach*, were entrusted with the guard of them.

them. Besides these precautions, six pieces of cannon, sixteen pounders each, were fixed on this side of the *Escaut*, in order to thunder on such troops as should attack the village of *Antoin*.

It is not improper to observe, that between the wood of *Barri* and *Fontenoy* there was a rising ground, of the space of about four hundred and fifty toises, by which the enemy might penetrate; therefore the general order'd a well-executed redoubt to be rais'd at the point of the wood of *Barri*, in which the cannons were placed in embrasures. The marquis de *Chabannes* had there, under his orders, one battalion of the regiment of *Eu*. The cannons of this redoubt, with those fixed on the left flank of *Fontenoy*, must make such a firing, as one would think should stop all the efforts of the most determined army.

Had the *English* attempted to make their way by the wood of *Barri*, there was another redoubt mounted with cannon prepared for them there; or if inclined to take a longer way about, they would have met entrenchments to be forced, and have been exposed to the fire of two batteries of cannon on the high road of *Leuze*. Thus the marshal was armed on every side, having made the most of his ground.

The disposition of the troops was as follows: Counts de *la Marck* and de *l'Orge* were charged with the post of *Antoin*, where were five battalions of *Piedmont*, one of *Biron*, with ten pieces of cannon. The marquis de *Crillon* was close by

the nearest redoubt to *Antoin*, with his regiment, having dragoons at his left to support them.

The village of *Fontenoy* was in the care of count *de la Vauguion*, who had under him the son of the marquis *de Meuze Choiseul*, with the regiment *Dauphin*, of which this young warrior (since dead) was then colonel. The duke *de Biron*, lieutenant-general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he commanded near *Fontenoy*; on his left was viscount *d'Aubeterre*, with the regiment of his name.

Pretty near on the same line were ranged four battalions of the *French* guards, two of *Savoy*, and the regiment of courtin, which covered the ground from *Fontenoy* to the wood of *Barri*. At about two hundred toises behind them, were fifty-two squadrons of horse. The duke of *Harcourt*, count *d'Estrees*, the duke of *Penthièvre*, were the generals of the first line. *Messieurs de Clermont Gallerande, du Chaila, and d'Apcher*, led on the second: between these lines of cavalry there had been placed, since morning, the regiment of *la Couronne, Hainaut, Soissons, and Royal*.

On the left was posted the *Irish Brigade*, under the command of lord *Clare*; and on a little plain of about eight hundred paces farther on, was the regiment *des Vaisseaux*, whose then colonel was the marquis *de Guerchi*. Between the brigades were monsieur *de Clermont Tonnerre*, and prince *de Pons* of the family of *Lorrain*, at the head of the horse-brigade of *Royal Roussillon*.

All these dispositions made, the return of day was expected with universal silence. At four o'clock

o'clock in the morning marshal *de Saxe* visited all the posts; which fatigue increased his pains so far, that he could neither walk nor ride, therefore got into his osier vehicle for some time.

Count *d'Argenson*, at the dawn of day, went to see if the artillery of the redoubts and villages were in good order, and if the field-pieces were ready. Tho' he had ordered a hundred, there were but sixty come up; so the minister's personal inspection and orders were very necessary on this occasion. He ordered the forty, which were wanting, to be brought up; but from the unavoidable tumult and perplexity in such circumstances, the number of balls requisite for such a quantity of artillery was defective.

The field-pieces were four pounders, and were drawn by men. Those in the villages, in the redoubts, and those pointed against the *Dutch* on the *Escaut*, were from four to sixteen pounders. Two battalions of royal artillery were distributed in *Antoin*, in *Fontenoy*, and in the redoubts, under the command of monsieur *de Brocard*, lieutenant-general of the artillery.

The enemy had eighty pieces of cannon, and eight mortars. The cannonading began on both sides. Marshal *Saxe* told marshal *de Noailles*, that he believed the allies intended nothing farther than cannonading, and in so doing lent them a design they had not, but which he would have put in practice, if in their situation, which was to keep the *French* army in continual alarms; and by that means, if not able to
compel

compel them to raise the siege, at least protract the taking of *Tournay*; for they were posted in such a manner as not to be attacked but at a very great risk, and could continually harass the besieging army.

This was the opinion of old general *Konigseg*, but the impetuosity of the duke of *Cumberland*, and the self-sufficiency of the *English* troops, were deaf to all advice. Marshal *de Noailles*, who was near *Fontenoy* when the cannonading began, went to inform marshal *Saxe* of the works he had made the preceding night, in order to join the village of *Fontenoy* to the first of the three redoubts, between *Fontenoy* and *Antoin*. He acted as his first *Aide de Camp*, sacrificing the too common jealousy of generals to the good of his country, and forgetting himself in behalf of a younger commander and a stranger. Marshal *de Saxe* had a thorough sense of such magnanimous behaviour, and there never was a stricter union between two great men, above all the littleness of meaner souls.

The good marshal *de Noailles*, on seeing the duke of *Grammont*, said to him, "Come, nephew, " it is proper that we embrace on a day of " battle, for perhaps we shall never see each " other more." Having embraced affectionately, marshal *de Noailles* went to the king, to give him an account of all the posts he had visited.

The duke *de Grammont* met count *Loxendahl*, who advanced with him near to the first redoubt of the wood of *Barri*, over-against an *English* battery.

battery. The duke of *Grammont's* horse being shot with a cannon ball, count *Lowendabl* was all over blood, and seeing a piece of bloody flesh drop into the duke's boot, "take care, said the "count, your horse is killed:" "And I to," replied the duke. His thigh was shivered with the blow, he was carried off the field, and before Mr. *Peyronie* the first surgeon could come up to him, he expired.

The artillery on both sides continued a brisk firing until eight in the morning, nor did the allies as yet appear to have any fixed design. About seven the *English* had moved to the ground of *Fontenoy*, and attacked it on every side; they threw in bombs, one of which fell at the feet of marshal *Saxe*, while he was speaking to count *Lowendabl*. The *Dutch* were advanced towards *Antoin*; these two attacks were equally well sustained. The count *de Vauguion*, who commanded in *Fontenoy*, having the young count *de Meuze* under him, constantly repulsed the *English*. He had made intrenchments in his village, and gave orders to the regiment of *Dauphin* never to fire without command, which was punctually obeyed; and at every discharge they cried, "Long "live the king!"

Counts *de la Marck* and *de Lorges*, in *Antoin*, kept off the *Dutch* infantry and cavalry. The marquis *de Chambonas* sustained courageously all the attacks at the redoubt *D'Eu*. The *English* attacked *Fontenoy* three times, and the *Dutch* presented themselves twice before *Antoin*. At their second attempt a *Dutch* squadron was almost

most entirely carried off by the cannon of *Antoin*, there not remaining above fifteen men; and in consequence the *Dutch* acted more cautious and shy in all their subsequent approaches.

The king and the dauphin were near the execution place of our lady of the wood (*notre dame des Bois*); the balls from the *English* artillery flying far over them; even the musket-balls reached where they were, and count *D'Argenson's* servant was wounded in the forehead far behind the king.

He observed attentively from this place, equidistant from the different corps, all that passed, and was the first to perceive that the enemy by attacking *Antoin* and *Fontenoy*, intended to point all their efforts that way. It therefore appeared to him unnecessary to let remain near *Ramecroix* the regiments of *Normandy*, *Auvergne*, and *Touraine*; he sent orders to the regiment of *Normandy* to advance near the *Irish Brigade*, and that the regiments of *Auvergne* and *Touraine* should fall more to the rear of them; but this he did not do without the advice (or rather the private directions of the generals) modestly saying, that his chief motive to come to that battle, was in order to instruct himself and his son in military affairs.

He drew near *Antoin* at the very time the *Dutch* made this second attack on it; cannon balls fell all around him (as the *French* say) and he betrayed no symptoms of fear, but returned to his first post, where he observed with some kind of amazement, that the balls fired from the
English

English batteries raised on the sides of the woods of *Barre*, fell on the regiment of *Royal Rouffillon*, which made not the least movement, by which their danger and loss could be guessed at.

Till between ten and eleven o'clock, the attack of the enemies was nothing more than what marshal *Saxe* had at first surmised it would be, consisting of an undecisive firing on the villages and redoubts. The duke of *Cumberland* resolved to pierce between the redoubts of the woods of *Barri* and *Fontenoy*. There was a deep ravin to be passed over, exposed to the battery of the redoubt, and on the other side of the ravin, the *French* army. What had induced the duke to undertake so perilous an enterprize, was one of his officers, named *Ingoldsby*, not having executed his orders to attack the redoubt of *Eu*. For had this redoubt been taken, he could have made his whole army advance under the protection of the cannon of this redoubt, which he would have turned against the *French*.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, the *English* marched boldly over the ravin, keeping their ranks, and drawing their cannon with them; they formed themselves in three lines close wedged, and advanced towards batteries of cannon which made a tremendous fire on them; whole ranks dropt on the right and left, which were immediately replaced, and the cannon which they had brought with them against *Fontenoy* and the redoubts, returned the fire of the *French* artillery. In this order they marched undauntedly, preceded

ceded by six pieces of cannon, having six more in the middle of their lines.

Over against them were four battalions of *French* guards, with two battalions of *Swiss* guards on their left, the regiment of *Courten* on their right, near which was that of *D'Aubeterre*, and a little further on the regiment *Du Roy*, along the edge of the hollow way to *Fontenoy*: it was a rising ground from the place the *French* guards stood to where the *English* were forming themselves.

The officers of the *French* guards said to each other, "let us go take the *English* cannon;" towards which they ran up with their grenadiers, and were astonished to find an army drawn up before them; and having lost by their artillery and musketry sixty, the rest returned to their ranks with precipitatin.

The *English* continued their march; the line of *French* infantry composed of *French* guards, *Swiss*, the regiment of *Courten*, *D'Aubeterre*, &c. advanced towards the enemy, and were now within fifty paces of a regiment of *English* guards. *Campbell's* regiment, and the *Royal Scots* were next, with whom were lieutenant-general *Campbell*, the earl of *Albemarle* major-general, and Mr. *Churchil* brigadier-general.

The *English* officers took off their hats, and saluted the *French*. Count *Chabannes*, and duke *de Biron*, who were in the front of their corps, returned the salute. Lord *Charles Hay*, captain of the *English* guards, cried out, "Gentlemen of the *French* guards, fire." Count *D'Au-*
troche,

troche, then lieutenant, and since captain of grenadiers, answered aloud, "Gentlemen, we never fire first, do you begin." The *English* captain then gave orders to his to fire, which was a continued one: the *English* seemed a moving body of fire to the *French*, whose sight was dazzled with the continued blaze, and hearing deafened with the uninterrupted noise.

Nineteen officers of the *French* guards were killed at the first general discharge, and ninety-five soldiers; two hundred and eighty-five were wounded; great havock were made in the *Swiss*. The colonel, lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers of the regiment of *Courten*, dropt, besides fourteen officers, and two hundred soldiers dangerously wounded.

The first line of the *French* being thus swept away, the three remaining looked behind, and seeing no cavalry near enough to them, they fled. The duke of *Grammont* their colonel, and the first lieutenant-general, who might have kept them to their duty, were dead; Mr. *de Luttaux*, the second lieutenant-general, came up as they fled. The *English* still marched slowly on, as if they were only exercising: the majors were seen levelling the soldiers muskets with their canes, that they might shoot low and straight.

The *English* army had now got clear of *Foutenoy*, and the redoubt. Tho' they had moved in three lines before, being here pinched by the disposition of the ground, they wedged themselves into a long and thick column, impenetrable by its mass, and much more so by its courage.

This dreadful column marched towards the regiment *D'Aubeterre*. Mr. *de Lutteaux*, at the news of this approaching danger, ran to them from *Fontenoy*, where he had been dangerously wounded; his aid de camp entreated him to have his wound dressed, but his answer was, "The service of the king is a more immediate object to me at present than life!"

He advanced with the duke of *Biron*, at the head of the regiment of *D'Aubeterre*, led on by the colonel of the same name. Unfortunate *Luttaux* received two mortal wounds; *Biron* had a horse killed under him: a hundred and thirty soldiers of *D'Aubeterre* were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke *de Biron*, with the regiment *Du Roi*, which he commanded, by flanking the left of the column, stopt its progress. A regiment of *English* guards detached itself from the column, advancing a few steps towards him, killed three of his captains, wounded fifteen others, and twelve lieutenants, disabled seventy-nine soldiers, and killed two hundred and sixty-six.

The regiment *de la Couronne*, then but a little space behind that of *Du Roi*, presented itself to the *English* column. Its colonel, *Duc D'Havre* lieutenant-colonel, and in the whole thirty-seven officers, were disabled by their wounds, with about two hundred and sixty soldiers. The regiment *Soissonois*, which succeeded to *la Couronne*, had fourteen officers wounded, lost one hundred and thirty soldiers. The regiment *Royal*, which was with that of *la Couronne*, lost more than any other

other regiment at these attacks; having six officers, and a hundred and thirty-six soldiers killed, with thirty-two officers and five hundred and nine soldiers wounded.

The *English*, who advanced on the regiment *Du Roi*, might have taken *Fontenoy* behind, whilst they cannonaded it on another side, which, if they had, the battle was lost to the *French* without any hopes of recovery. The duke of *Biron* put grenadiers into the hollow way, to keep the *English* in check: whilst the regiments *Du Roi*, *la Couronne*, *D'Aubeterre*, were entrench'd behind heaps of their slain and wounded companions, two battalions of *French* and *Swiss* guards were sneaking off different ways, by the lines of the cavalry, who were a good way behind them. The officers, who strove to rally them, met with Mr. *de Luttaux*, "Ah! gentlemen," said he, "do not expect me to rally; for I am dangerously wounded, and must retire!" he died soon after, in great pain. Before he had retired, he said to the soldiers of the *French* guards whom he met, "Go, my friends, and join your comrades, who form the guard of *Pont Calonne*;" others fled with precipitation through a little hollow way leading from *Barri* to the very place where the king was.

Their grenadiers, with what remained of the two battalions, rallied under count *de Chabannes*, near the redoubt of *Eu*; and these continued with M. *de la Sonne*, who formed them into a battalion which he commanded, being, tho' very young, the eldest captain able to act, all the others were killed or wounded.

The compact and resolute *English* column still gained ground: marshal *Saxe*, who beheld the uncertainty of success with great calmness, sent word to the king by marquis *de Meuse*, that he conjured him to retire beyond the bridge with the dauphin, and that he would do all in his power to recover affairs; ‘ That I know he will,” replied the king, ‘ but I will not move ‘ from hence.”

This monarch dispatched his aid de camps every moment from brigade to brigade, and from post to post, who returned successively to him, with accounts of what passed. The order of battle was now changed from what it had been in the beginning; for, of the first line of cavalry, there remained now but half. Count *d’Estrées*’s division was near *Antoin*, under the duke of *Harcourt*, making head with his dragoons, and *Crillon*’s regiment against the *Dutch*, lest they should penetrate by that side, whilst the *English* on the other began to be victorious. The other half of the line, the duke of *Harcourt*’s division, was under count *d’Estrées*, and marched against the *English*. *M. de Fiennes* led on his regiment, *M. de Cernay* the *Croats*, and duke *Fitzjames* an *Irish* regiment of horse, called by his name: but, alas! what could so small a body of cavalry do against so firm, and so well disciplined a column of infantry, whose continual hedge-firing scattered all these little separated bodies, which presented themselves one after the other; besides, it is very well known,

that

that the horse can do very little against the foot in close wedged ranks.

Marshal *Saxe* was in the midst of all this fire, and though much weakened by his malady, he rushed forward to make the second line of cavalry advance against the column. The count *de Noailles* led on his brigade, and fell on with impetuosity. The marquis of *Vignacourt*, captain in his regiment, moved with his squadron to a flank of the column; it got among the *English* ranks, and but fourteen of them, with M. *Vignacourt*, escaped alive. An *English* soldier run his bayonet with such force through *Vignacourt's* boot into his leg, that there it stuck with the musket; the horse having several wounds, ran away with his master. The butt-end of the musket trailing on the ground, still raised the bayonet, which tore the wound larger; he died soon after: of the fourteen, ten were taken prisoners, whom the *English* sent back next day, in consideration of their gallant behaviour.

Count *D'Argenson*, son of the minister of war, with his regiment of *Berry*, attacked at the same time *Fiennes* did; he charged three times at the head of a single squadron, which gave rise to a short-lived rumour of his death. Count *de Brionne*, chevalier *de Brancas*, marquis *de Chabillant*, led on and rallied their cavalry; but their different corps were all repulsed, one after the other. Count *de Clermont*, *Tonnere*, count *d'Estreés*, and the marquis *de Croffi*, appeared every where; the general officers ran from brigade to brigade.

The colonel general *Fiennes*, and the *Croats*, were roughly handled ; they lost twelve officers. Prince *Clermont* had twenty-two wounded. In short, they could get no ground of the enemy, and all the efforts they made, still added to their loss.

The more the *English* column advanced, the more it deepened, and was the better able to repair its continual losses, from so many repeated attacks. It marched unmoved over the dead and wounded of both sides ; and though in three divisions, seemed to form but one body of about sixteen thousand men.

A great number of the *French* horse were driven in disorder to the place where the king and his son were, who were separated from each other by the precipitate movement of the crowd. The king, though concerned, did not change countenance, nor let escape any mark of anger or uneasiness. But having observed about two hundred horse scattered behind him, he said to a *Chevaux Leger*, 'Go, in my name, rally those men, and lead them on to the enemy,' which he did ; his name was *Jouy* ; and not thinking that he had done any thing more than his duty, it was a long time before the minister of war could come to a knowledge of it, in order to reward him.

During this disorder, the brigades of the *guards de corps*, who had been in reserve, moved of themselves to the enemy ; the chevalier *De Suzi* and *Saumery* were killed. Four squadrons of the *Gens D'Armes* arrived at the same time
from

from *Douay*; and, notwithstanding the fatigue they had undergone in a march of seven leagues, they went to attack the enemy; but all those fresh succours, like those who preceded them, were received by the enemy with the same intrepidity, and the same continued fire.

Young count *de Chevrier* was killed. The chevalier *de Monaco*, son of the duke of *Valentinois*, was wounded in the leg, and *M. du Guesclin* in the foot. The carabineers came next to the charge, had six officers killed, and twenty wounded. No measures had been concerted for all these attacks, they might be justly called false fires, and will never prevail against bravery, when under the guidance of discipline and order.

Marshal *Saxe* almost exhausted, was still on horseback, and moved slowly amidst the fire; he passed before the front of the *English* column, in order to take a view of the wood of *Barri* on the left. The same attempts were made there as on the right, but proved all vain efforts against the advancing column.

The *English* faced about to the several regiments, presenting themselves one after the other, pointed their cannon *a-propos*, and firing by divisions, still fed their fire while attacked, and ceased it with the attack ceasing. *M. Saxe* seeing a *French* regiment engaged, of which whole ranks fell, without the body's yielding ground, he asked which it was? being told *des Vasseaux* commanded by monsieur *de Guerchi* he expressed his satisfaction. Two and thirty officers of this regi-

regiment were wounded, and one third of the soldiers killed or disabled.

The regiment of *Hainault* did not suffer less; the son of prince *Craon*, governor of *Tuscany*, its colonel, was killed, and the lieutenant-colonel mortally wounded near him. Nineteen officers of this corps were dangerously wounded, and two hundred and sixty soldiers killed.

The regiment of *Normandy* came up, and had as great a loss in officers and soldiers as that of *Hainault*; lieutenant-colonel *Solenci* headed it; the king praised his courage in the field of battle, and promoted him after to the rank of brigadier-general. Some of the *Irish* brigades attacked the column in flank; colonel *Dillon*, with thirteen officers were killed, and fifty-six wounded.

Marshal *Saxe* passed a-new before the front of the column, which was advanced a hundred paces beyond the redoubts of *Eu* and *Fontenoy*. He went to see what situation *Fontenoy* was in, which having no balls left, the enemy's artillery was answered by the simple fire of powder.

M. de Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery, and several other officers of the same corps, had received mortal wounds, he entreated the duke *D'Harcourt*, whom he met, to go and prevail on the king to retire; he sent orders to the count *de la Marck*, who had the guard of *Antoin*, to move from thence with the regiment of *Piedmont*. The battle seemed to be lost without resource: the field-pieces were
brought

brought in from every side, those of *Fontenoy*, although balls had been brought, were just on the point of being carried off as several equipages had been already.

Marshal *Saxe*'s intention was, to make one decisive effort more against the *English* column, which had greatly suffered, tho' it still preserved the same appearance as to depth, and was astonished at finding itself in the middle of the *French* field of battle, without any of their own cavalry near; however, it affected a commanding look, as if possessed of the field of battle, which, had the *Dutch* passed between the redoubts of *Bettens*, and seconded them, the victory was undoubtedly theirs, there being no resource left, not even a retreat for the army, nor perhaps one for the king and his son: the success of the last effort was very uncertain.

Marshal *Saxe* sensible, that conquest or a defeat must ensue, bethought him of the means of a sure retreat, in the very time he was doing all in his power to obtain a complete victory: he sent orders to count *de la Marck* to evacuate *Antoin*, and to draw near the bridge of *Calonne*, in order to favour their retreat, in case of a disaster.

Count *de la Marck* was very much grieved at this order, the effect of which would be, the *Dutch* making themselves masters of *Antoin*, and turning the cannon there on the king's troops. The marshal sent a second order to him by M. *Dailvorde* his aid de camp, which was also notified to count *de Lorges*; and that he should

should be responsible for the execution; forced, he obeyed, despairing of any success that day; but the greatest events depend sometimes on trifles light as air, on a mistake, or some unforeseen incident.

Those who were near the king, had reason to think the battle was lost, knowing that there were no balls in *Fontenoy*, and that the greatest number of those employed about the artillery had been killed; that the post where Mr. *de Chambonas* was also wanted balls, and that the village of *Antoin* was upon the point of being evacuated.

Those about the duke of *Cumberland* could not have a better opinion of the fortune of the day on their side, thinking themselves still exposed to the fire of *Fontenoy*, and the redoubt of *Barri*, not knowing that they had been fired at for some time with powder only. The *Dutch* also ignorant of the orders for evacuating *Antoin*, did not think of moving thither. The *English* horse, which would have completed the disorder caused by the column of their foot, did not appear to assist them, there being no other way of coming up to them but by *Fontenoy*, or the redoubt, whose batteries still fired with equal vehemence, but unknown to them that it was without ball.

If it should be asked here, why the *English* general had not at first strove to make himself master of the redoubt, whose cannon he might have afterwards turned upon the *French*, which would have secured the victory to them? It is said,

said, that it had been his intention; and that, so early as eight o'clock in the morning, orders had been given to general *Ingoldfby*, to enter into the woods of *Barri*, with four regiments, to attack the redoubt; which, as he was about to attempt, he perceived the artillery of the place pointed against him, and some battalions lying on the ground in wait for him. Subsequent to which discovery, he went to apply for some cannon, which general *Campbell* promised to send to him, but he having been killed early by a ball, shot from the redoubt, was the occasion of the cannon's not coming time enough; and this induced the duke of *Cumberland*, unwilling to lose any time, to march with his intrepid infantry before the fire of the redoubt; and this enterprize, which ought, on the very setting out, to have proved fatal to him, succeeded as yet by the dint of the valour of his troops: what cannot *English* troops attempt, let them be but well commanded?

A hurried and tumultuous kind of council was held in presence of the *French* king; he had received a message from the general to retire, and was entreated in the name of *France* not to expose himself any more. The duke of *Richelieu*, who served as aid de camp to the king, came up at this juncture; he had been to reconnoitre the column at *Fontenoy*; he had run about and fought every where, without receiving a wound, and presented himself before the king quite out of breath, covered with dust, and his sword drawn: 'Well, what news?' said mar-

marshal *de Noailles* to him — ‘ My news is,’ replied *Richelieu*, ‘ That the day is ours yet, if we please; and my advice is, that four pieces of cannon be, without loss of time, drawn up before the column, and during these batteries playing on the column, our other troops shall surround it;’ which, after some debate, was agreed upon.

M. de Senneval, lieutenant of the artillery, pointed the four pieces of cannon over against the column. The duke *de Richlieu* galloped with all speed, to bid the household march, in the king’s name. *M. Montesson*, their commander, received with joy these orders from the duke, and led them on with alacrity.

The prince *de Soubise* assembled the *Gens D’Armes* whom he commanded, and then the duke of *Pequigni*, now duke of *Chaulnes*, put himself at the head of the *Cheveaux Legers*; the different corps formed themselves, and advanced. The four squadrons of *Gens D’Armes* advanced on the right of the king’s household, the horse grenadiers at their head, under monsieur *de Grille* their captain. The musquetaires, commanded by monsieur *de Jumilhac*, marched on with rapidity.

The dauphin too (they say) was running with his sword drawn, to lead on his father’s household; but some good-natured person, as there are never wanting on these occasions, stopt him for the sake of *France*, not his own, which, upon due consideration, he consented to. It is really nauseating to read the minute and puerile detail of *French* writers, of the dictated

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sayings, and prepared intervenings of the astonishing heroism of their princes, who (hear them) surpass all others.

In this decisive moment, count *D'Eu*, and the duke *de Biron* were afflicted to see the troops desiling from their post at *Antoin*; count *de la Marck*, who led them out, did it with great regret, but by the remonstrances of these officers, who informed count *Saxe*, just coming that way, of the king's resolution, they were ordered to return into *Antoin*; though much indisposed, he ran from right to left, then to the *Irish* brigade, on whom he had great dependence, and recommended to all the troops he met coming up, that they would do nothing tumultuously, but act all in concert.

While he stopt at the *Irish* brigade, with count *Lowendabl* and lord *Clare*, the duke *de Biron*, count *D'Eu*, marquis *de Croisi*, were on the right, over-against the left flank of the column, on a rising-ground; they perceived the *Irish* brigade bearing down on its left flank. 'Now is the time, said they to each other, for us to march, and put an end to the business of this day.'

Mons. *de Biron* led on the regiment *du Roi*, those of *D'Aubeterre* and *Courten* followed; an universal harmony seemed diffused through all the bodies marching together. Lord *Clare*, (now marshal *Thomond*) led on the *Irish* brigade to attack the column in front, the other troops attacked it in the flanks. The hollow-way, which separated them from the *English* column, was soon got over by the *French* forces, who

fired at, and now ran upon the harrassed *English* (unrelieved by any new corps) with screwed bayonets: they were obliged to yield to such superiority of numbers, and diversified attacks, having done as much as mortals ever did, and will ever appear in the estimation of judges of true military glory, conquerors, though conquered. What was the number that gave all this trouble? sixteen thousand; had there been a few thousands more such men!

In the pursuit, the *French* killed several of the *Irish*, in taking them for parties of the *English* army, their uniforms being very much alike; however, they deserved it, for fighting so bravely in so bad a cause, and being principally instrumental in the success of that day.

Express on express was sent from every commanding officer, to inform the king of the victory.

Among the *English* officers slain, were general *Campbell*, general *Ponsonby*, lord *Albemarle's* brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, with a great number of subaltern officers. The *English* repassed the ravin between *Fontenoy* and the redoubt in the greatest disorder; the ground which the column had occupied, as well as the ravin, were covered with dead and wounded. However, the *French* lost a far greater number of officers of the first, and of all ranks, as well as of common men, than the *English*, allowing all manner of proportion for the difference of numbers.

The *French* king having returned publick thanks to marshal *Saxe*, then rode from rank to rank,

rank, paying to each corps the encomiums due to their gallant behaviour. A few days after, marshal *Saxe* having received intelligence, that some parties of the army of the allies were returned to *Leuze*, in order to harrafs the *French* troops besieging *Tournay*, he sent a detachment after, which routed them.

The siege was so vigorously carried on, that on the 22d of the said month the commander hoisted a white flag, and withdrew into the citadel with his garrison, where he made a brave defence, till the 19th of *June*; and a breach being then made twenty toises wide, he surrendered to the king on the 20th.

In the capitulation, his majesty granted the honours of war to the besieged, four pieces of cannon, whereon were the arms of *Holland*; but on condition, that for eighteen months they were not to act against him or his allies, nor enter into the pay of any other power, nor perform any military function whatsoever; nay, not so much as be employed as garrison troops in places the most distant from *Bavaria*.

The presence of the allied army was of no other use than to add a lustre to the taking of the town and citadel of *Tournay*. It was during the siege of the latter, that *Lewis* the XVth, studious of giving new marks of his royal benevolence to count *Saxe*, ordered a brevet to be made out, by which the honours and entries of the *Louvre* were granted to this general, which are looked upon as a very distinguished favour by the *French* courtiers, but would not, perhaps, be

thought a mighty matter in *England*, if it were the custom, and his present majesty inclined to grant them. And much about the same time, he ordered two other brevets to be made in his behalf, granting him essentials; in the one, an additional pension of 40,000 *livres* a year, and in the other the castle of *Chamband*, with all its appurtenances.

The *French* army having reposed before *Tournay*, it marched from thence in five columns the first of *July*. The victorious *French* king, and his triumphant son the dauphin rode at the head of the center.

The taking of GHENT, BRUGES, OUDENARDE, OSTEND, NIEUPORT, AETH.

In order that they might succeed in surprizing *Ghent*, his majesty's intention was by different motions to conceal their march: count *Lowendahl* made acquainted with the design, was detached towards *Oudenarde*, under pretext of investing that place, and having arrived near *Ghent*, on the evening of the 10th, he attacked the city next day at ten, and by scaling took it. He carried off four hundred prisoners, of which number were seventy *English* officers. He seized on all the equipages, magazines both of artillery and provisions there. He obliged the garrison of the castle to surrender prisoners of war two days after.

The

MAURICE Count SAXE. 101

The taking of *Ghent* intimidated the allied army, and the *British* hero, tho' defeated, was meditating on several projects, without being able to fix on any. On the night between the 17th and 18th, count *Saxe* detached marquis *de Souvre* with four hundred dragoons, four piquets, a hundred and fifty grassins, and four hundred grenadiers to take *Bruges*. The inhabitants opened the gates of the town at his approach; and submitted themselves to the *French* king.

All things properly disposed for the besieging of *Oudenarde* in the night between the 18th and 19th, M. *de Lowendahl* opened the trenches. On the 21st the governor hung out the white flag at six in the evening. On the 25th the garrison, consisting of twelve hundred men, marched out of the place, and after they had filed off before his majesty, laid down their arms, being prisoners of war; and, as agreed on by capitulation, were conducted to *Tournay*. Thirty-six pieces of cannon, with plenty of provisions and forage, were found in *Oudenarde*.

M. *de Lowendahl* marched to *Ostend*, while the king's army remained at *Dendermonde*. Notwithstanding that place was so difficult of access, he conducted the siege of it with so much judgment and spirit, that the garrison, which was four thousand strong, and received continual supplies from sea, found itself reduced to the necessity of capitulating the 23d of *August*, six days after the trenches had been opened.

Immediately after M. *de Lowendahl* sent five hundred foot, and fifty dragoons, to post them-

selves near *Nieuport*: he marched with the rest of his troops the 28th; on the 30th he invested *Nieuport*, and opened the trenches the 30th of *September* in the night: the works were pushed on so vigorously, that the commander caused a parley to be beaten the 5th of *October* in the morning. He and his garrison were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, the terms of his capitulation being rejected.

The king and dauphin returned to *Paris*, where as well as on the road thither, were all manner of congratulations and rejoicings. But count *Saxe*, who had resolved within himself to conclude the campaign with the taking of *Aeth*, named count *Clermont Gallerande* to direct the siege. In the night between the second and third of *October* the trenches were opened before it; and on the eighth the governor demanding to capitulate, the honours of war were granted to him.

By this last conquest the *French* king's troops were sure of plentiful and peaceable winter quarters. The duke of *Cumberland* having distributed his army, embarked for *England*, where his presence was much wanted on account of the young pretender being then in *Great Britain*, at the head of some rebel *Highlanders* who had taken up arms in his behalf.

But count *Saxe*, who meditated a winter expedition of the greatest importance, did not quit his quarters, and ordered his troops to make such a diversity of movements, that the generals of
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the army of the allies could never unravel what he would be at; and his not leaving the army still encreased their solicitude: but his having permitted most of the officers to retire, and retaining but those few about him whom he thought the properest to execute his meditated scheme, they began to desist from their suspicion of any mighty project.

The Siege of BRUSSELS.

In order to lull them the more in a false security, he ordered his having returned to *Versailles* to be industriously rumoured, and to reach the enemy in such a manner, as should convince them of the certainty of it; which done, on the 28th of *January* 1746, he sent orders to his troops to march from their quarters to the river *Senne*, and to the canal of *Vilwörden*, above and below *Brussels*. That day, accordingly, they cantoned in the villages and boroughs next to the *Dender*; and they continued their march from thence the next day, in order to go and take possession of their destined posts. These movements were so well executed, that the city of *Brussels* was invested on all sides on the 30th.

Count *Saxe* thought of every method to secure the soldiers from the severity of the weather, as also how to transport the artillery in that bad season of the year, which being arrived in the night between the seventh and eighth of *February*, the trenches were opened by count *Logni-Montmorency*.

Montmorency, with ten battalions, ten companies of grenadiers, four hundred dragoons, and sixteen hundred pioneers. The troops entered the trenches at midnight. The pioneers could not finish the parallel it froze so very hard.

Marquis de Beaufremont relieved the trenches next day: the besiegers plied their small arms very briskly during the night. *Count de la Suze* relieved the marquis; they three mounted alternately till the night between the 16th and 17th; then *Mr. de Herouville* relieved them, as did *Mr. de Guerchi*, from the 17th to the 18th, and the duke *de Chevreux* from the 18th to the 19th, and *M. de Remicourt* from the 19th to the 20th.

Count Saxe, who had ordered the place to be battered in breach for some days, schemed an attempt on the horn-work with ten grenadiers and a serjeant; the orders given to the latter were, to mount each breach with his men, and there to remain, while unmolested by the enemy. This operation was entrusted to the care of *monfieur de Breze*, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th of *February* it was put in execution.

The ten grenadiers went to every breach of the demi-bastions of the horn-work, followed by pioneers who fixed themselves on the center of the breaches; which, when the besieged had perceived, they advanced to repel them; but instead of retreating as they had been ordered, they jumped into the demi-bastion, shouting *vive le Roi*, may the king live. Four companies of grenadiers who were in the ditch, mounted on the breaches

breaches directly, entered the demi-bastion; and as far as the covered-way of the place pursued the enemy.

The pioneers, who had already begun to make lodgments, followed them. But the enemy coming in great numbers repulsed those on the right and left, who retired by the breach into trenches in good order, and without any great loss. The besieged deeming this to be the prelude to a general assault, hung on the breach the white flag, demanding a capitulation, which was drawn up and signed the same day by marshal *Saxe*, and count *Kaunitz*, by which the garrison became prisoners of war.

Brussels, the capital of *Brabant*, is one of the most superb as well as the richest city of the *Netherlands*. Its situation is delightful, being partly on a plain, and partly on a rising ground. A report prevails there that the prince's palace was built by *Cæsar*. The grand square, as well as the publick edifices are magnificent. In this city the governors of the *Austrian Netherlands* commonly reside. It contains a respectable body of nobles.

The walls of *Brussels* are flanked with 174 towers. The fortifications are strong. In 1695 marshal *de Villars* bombarded it. In 1706 the *French* abandoned it. In 1708 the elector of *Bavaria* invested it, but was obliged to raise the siege with precipitation, by his terror the victorious duke of *Marlborough*, who was with reason called the scourge of *France*.

All the field artillery of the *Dutch* was found by the *French* in *Brussels*; a considerable number of cannon, and mortars of all sizes, four months provision for their army, with a proportion of all necessary ammunition. Never was expedition of a bolder nature, nor better executed than this; that 22,000 men should take a place well provided in every sense, and having 12,000 men in garrison (reader, observe there was no *English* among them) intrenched, and partly sheltered from the inclemency of the weather.

Marshal *Saxe* had settled the plan of his operations so well, that none of them failed. *M. de Contades*, with five battalions and ten squadrons, was posted in the suburbs of *Laken*. *Mr. D'Armentieres*, with eight battalions and as many squadrons, in that of *Flanders*. The marquis *de Beaufremont*, with four battalions and eighteen squadrons in that of *Anderlecht*. *M. de Clermont Gallerande*, with twelve battalions and twenty-five squadrons, in that of *Namur*. And messieurs *de Breze* and *de la Suze*, with twelve battalions and twenty-five squadrons, in that of *Scarebeck*.

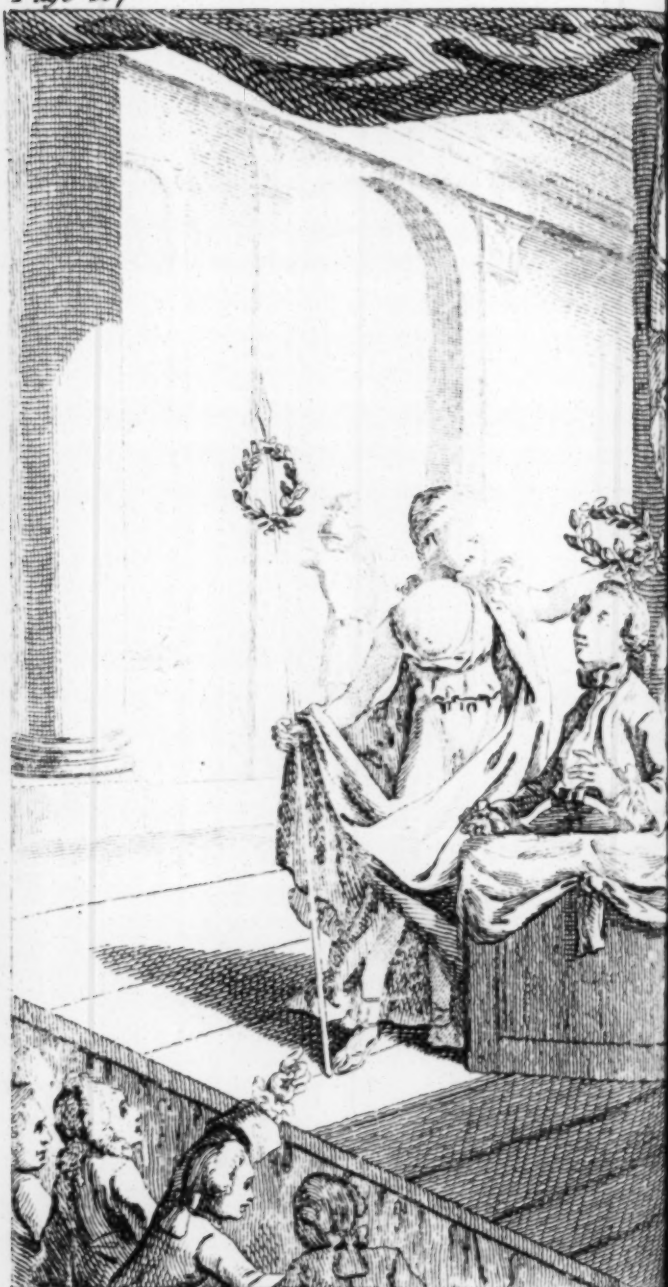
Mr. de Logni Montmorency, with ten squadrons, was posted at *Turcurin*; at the gates of *Sas*, of the three fountains, four hundred fuzileers; and on the cause-way of *Louvain* thirty dismounted dragoons. Besides the regiments of *Grassin* and *Beaufobre* were near *Vilvorden*. *M. de Relingue*, with five battalions and sixteen squadrons under his command, was posted at *Genap*, from whence he moved to take possession of *Nivelle*.

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Marthal Saxe is presented with a Lawrel Crown at the Opera in Paris.

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The king's regiment, which on the 10th of *February* came up before *Brussels*, was also employed at the siege. In this expedition the *French* had 908 men killed or wounded; the besieged never dared to attempt one sally, their fire indeed was brisk and continual, but availed not in the end.

As soon as the allied troops had evacuated *Brussels*, marshal *Saxe* caused gratifications to be distributed amongst his soldiers, and then allotted them good quarters, where they might soon recover from, and forget the fatigues of the late siege. His next care was to make proper dispositions for the security of this city. From *Brussels* he went to *Ghent*; and having visited all the posts of the army, he set out for *Paris* to take measures with the king and ministry about the operations of the ensuing campaign.

The king received him with the most distinguished marks of favour and kindness. The inhabitants of *Paris* let slip no occasion to express their grateful sense of the nation's obligations to his valour and conduct. The moment he was discovered at any of the theatres, the piece was interrupted to pay homage, and give plaudits to him.

The first time of his appearing at the opera, after the taking of *Brussels*, they were to represent a piece, of which the prologue appeared to the actresses, who was to perform the part of victory, so very applicable to marshal *de Saxe*, that she presented him with her own laurel. This so pleased the spectators, that reiterated claps of appro-

approbation followed. Marshal *Saxe* is said to have declared since, that he never felt so much confusion on any occasion, not even the most perilous, as then; he sent the actress next morning a present of a pair of ear-rings, to the value of five hundred guineas; so this was a lucky hit for the actress, it procured her the applause of the publick, and enriched her toilet. All *French* parnaßus run riot in praising marshal *Saxe's* exploits, and in their verses annihilated all other powers.

The king, as a new proof of his royal benevolence, gave him letters of naturalization in a very distinguishing manner. *M. de Lowendabl*, who had repaired to marshal *Saxe* during the siege, was made governor of *Brussels*; nor could that government have been given into better hands, in order to provide for its security, for he made it his business to have the breaches repaired, and to strengthen the old, with new fortifications.

Having assisted at several councils during his stay at court, marshal *Saxe* returned to *Ghent* the 22d of *April*; and to *Brussels* on the first of *May*. On his arrival he viewed and approved of all the dispositions made by *M. de Lowendabl*. He went with him next day to view the camp intended for the army, which was marked out the third; and all the troops ordered to assemble near *Brussels*, arrived there in five columns the same day.

The first came from *Maubege*, under the command of *M. de Clermont Gallerande*, the second came from *Conde* and the adjacent parts, under

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der messieurs *Graville* and *D'Armentieres*. The third came from *Tournay*, under the command of *M. de Breze*. The fourth, conducted by *M. de Contades*, came from *Oudenarde*. And the fifth came from *Ghent* and *Dendermonde*, under the command of *M. de Herouville*.

The camp had been scarce formed when the king arrived at *Brussels*, accompanied by marshal *Saxe*, and followed by his court; he made his public entry there on the fourth of *May* 1746. The magistracy in a body received and complimented him without the gate of *Flanders*. He was presented with the keys thereof, by *M. de Lowendabl*, as governor of that city, and acting then as governor of *Brabant*. The king, preceded by that general, was conducted to the hotel *D'Egmont*, under a triple discharge of all the artillery, the people shouting from every quarter, 'Long live the king.'

His majesty went next day to visit the fortifications, and a part of the camp. On the sixth *M. de Lowendabl* with twenty-four companies of grenadiers, and fifteen piquets, was detached to dislodge the *Austrians* from *Louvain*; who retired with precipitation at his approach, leaving part of their baggage in that city.

That general went afterwards to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, and the camp of *Parck*, which the *French* troops were to occupy; after which he returned to *Brussels*, and reported the situation of the allied army to marshal *Saxe*; and then went to inform the king, who

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made a general review of his army the same day.

The king marched the 11th, at the head of his army, in six columns. The allies, on information of the approach of the *French*, evacuated *Malines*, (we call it *Mechlin*) which prince *Soubise* took possession of with three brigades of infantry, to wit, *Auvergne*, *Piedmont*, and the king's. At the same time several other posts were taken, and on the 19th his majesty received intelligence that the allied army had abandoned *Antwerp*, having left therein a garrison of sixteen hundred men.

The Siege of ANTWERP.

M. de Breze, at the head of a large detachment, was ordered to take post near that city, and reconnoitre the citadel. On the 21st it was invested. The siege was commanded by count *Clermont*. Marshal *Saxe* and count *D'Argenson* went with the prince to see the part of the citadel properest to attack. In the night between the 25th and 26th the trenches were opened, and on the 31st the place surrendered. In consideration of some forts which were delivered at the same time, the honours of war were granted to the garrison.

On the fourth of the next month (*June*) the king made his entry into the city of *Antwerp*, and assisted at the *Te Deum* sung in the cathedral. The following day, accompanied by mar-

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MAURICE COUNT SAXE. III

shal *de Saxe*, the princes of the blood, and all the general officers, he visited the works of the citadel, and gave orders for their being repaired; he then set out, and arrived the 14th at *Verfailles*.

The Siege of Mons.

It had been resolved in a council of war held before the king while in *Antwerp*, that the operations should be continued by besieging *Mons*. Marshal *Saxe*, in consequence of this resolution, after he had forced the allies from the basin of *Antwerp*, obliging them to retreat to *Breda*, gave orders for investing that place to M. *D'Espreés*; the siege was under the direction of prince *Conti*.

In the night between the 24th and 25th the trenches were opened under the command of messieurs *de la Fare* and *Boufflers*, who each led on an attack. At three o'clock in the morning on the 10th of next month (*July*) the besieged beat a parley, and pursuant to the capitulation the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and consisted of twelve battalions.

Inasmuch as the fort of *St. Guilain* was not comprised in the capitulation of *Mons*, it was besieged in form, and on the 23d obliged to surrender. The garrison, consisting of 500 men, was sent to *Valenciennes*, there to be detained till exchanged. The allies, who had hitherto shunned any rencounter with the *French*, having re-

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ceived the expected reinforcements, began to move.

Marshal *Saxe*, whose vigilance never lost sight of them, took every precaution to make the king's conquests sure, and be able to add to them. Accompanied by *M. de Lowendabl*, he visited the adjacent parts of *Hougarde* upon the river *Gethe*; they had with them a body of cavalry and infantry, which came with *M. de Lowendabl*. When these two generals had reviewed all the ground as far as *Judoigne* along the river, they returned to their camp. The former to *Parck* near *Louvain*, the latter to *Meldert* not far from *Tirlemont*.

It was in this last place that the troops of *M. de Lowendabl* were joined by the armies of count *Clermont* and marshal *Saxe*. Advice being come that the allies had decamped from *Tongres* to advance towards *Warren*, marshal *Saxe* with all his forces left *Tirlemont*, in order to march to *Gemblours*, that he might be near at hand to observe the enemy's movements; but at the same time sent off to *Brussels* all the heavy baggage.

The Siege of CHARLEROY.

The trenches were opened before *Charleroy* under the direction of prince *Conti*, in the night between the 28th and 29th of *July*: the works were so briskly carried on, that on the second of the next month (*August*) the governor demanded

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to capitulate, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. Prince *Conti* dispatched the marquis *de Stainville*, colonel of the regiment of *Navarre* infantry, with the news to the king; and some days after the marquis *de Meaupou*, son of the first president of the parliament of *Paris*, colonel of the regiment of *Bigorre*, carried the colours to his majesty: they were both made brigadiers.

On the 18th of *July* the *French* army made a new motion with its left wing, seizing on several important posts on the *Gethe*, and extending themselves along the *Mebaigne*, which was to their front. The right was encamped at *Ottomont*; and at *Grand Rosier* were the general quarters. At the same time marshal *Saxe* detached *M. de Lowendabl* towards *Walef*, with a body of 20,000, which is within two leagues of *Huy*, in order to prevent the allies from posting themselves there.

Marshal *Saxe*'s design was to cut off their communication with *Maestricht*, and compel them by that means to repass the *Maeze*. *M. de Lowendabl* executed his orders with so much quickness and dexterity, that he made himself master of the town of *Huy* on the 21st; and there great magazines of provisions and forage were found.

Marshal *Saxe* having foreseen that the corps of thirty thousand men left by the allies over against his camp to observe him, while the main body of his army marched towards *Huy*, would attempt to disturb him in his march, and to harass

his rear, commissioned *M. de Lowendabl* to oppose whatever attempts should be made.

In compliance with the orders of marshal *Saxe*, *M. de Lowendabl* left his camp, and marched in two columns beyond *Perwis*, on the right flank of the grand army, where he made all requisite dispositions suitable to the genius of the troops he had to deal with, and to the nature of the ground.

But as the allies were at liberty to march by the plain in the rear of the *French* army at the time of its removal from the wood of *Gaulay*; and as the troops which they caused to march along the rivulet of *Perwis*, menaced the left wing of the *French* army, and that the intrenched posts upon the *Mehaigne* gave them an opportunity of making advantageous sallies on marshal *Saxe's* army, *M. de Lowendabl*, to remedy these three inconveniences, formed a line of cavalry on his right wing, supported by a line of infantry; and his left being obliged to pass along the rivulet of *Perwis*, whose edges were filled with the allies, he supported the infantry by the cavalry in a second line.

The skirts of these two columns marching on a level, were secured by twelve companies of grenadiers and four hundred horse, who made a front towards the intermediate space. Five hundred volunteers and the regiment of *Grassin* composed the rear. The whole consisted of three thousand horse and eighteen battalions.

The allied army opened from the village of *Asche*, and soon appeared upon the borders of the wood

wood of *Gaulay* with their artillery, the *Hungarian* infantry, and hussars. Their infantry took to the left, and their cavalry presented themselves not only against the rear, but likewise extended upon the flanks of *M. de Lowendabl's* body, and their number then appeared to be more than ten thousand.

They pursued the *French* till seven at night; then they came up with the grand army. They made several attempts, under the inspection of prince *Charles* who commanded them, but could effect none either to disturb the order the *French* set out in, or to impede their march.

The attacks they made were sustained by some *Grassins*, the volunteers, and some piquets of infantry, which had been placed before the columns to drive back the hussars: the fire from their cannon disposed in different parts caused more disorder amongst the *French* troops than their small arms. In *M. de Lowendabl's* division there were only 120 common men, with eight officers killed or wounded. The enemy's loss amounted to more.

On account of the great scarcity of provisions in the army of the allies, closed in on all sides on the 28th of *August*, prince *Charles* made it pass the *Maeze* on several bridges below *Namur*, which he had ordered to be built there. Marshal *Saxe*, as he got intelligence thereof, made his army move to draw near that city. Orders had been given to the body of troops under *M. d'Esprees's* command, to pass the *Maeze* on the 29th, and to join *M. de Lowendabl*.

Marshal

Marshal *Saxe* arrived at *Huy* the next day, (the 30th) and visited the posts along the *Hioule* occupied by messieur *de Lowendahl* and *M. d'Estreés*; then returned to the main corps of his army, and ordered a new bridge to be thrown over the *Maeze* near the castle of *Neuville* below *Huy*, in order to facilitate the passage of a reinforcement to *M. de Lowendahl*, if it should appear necessary to send one.

The Siege of NAMUR.

In a grand council held the second of *September*, it was resolved to besiege *Namur*, and on that occasion to employ sixty-one battalions, and forty-seven squadrons. Count *Clermont* just recovered from a dangerous fit of sickness was appointed to command. It was also resolved in the said council, that marshal *Saxe* should march with the rest of the army to observe that of the allies retiring towards *Maeftricht*.

Pursuant to these resolutions, on the 6th of *September* the city of *Namur* was invested, and no succour either of men or provisions could be carried thither, the avenues being shut upon all sides. Count *Clermont* had eight lieutenant-generals, and twenty camp-marshals under him. Among the former was *M. de Lowendahl*, at that prince's (*Clermont's*) particular request.

All necessary dispositions being made, and the artillery come up in the night between the 12th and 13th of *September*, the trenches were
opened

opened before *Namur*. The troops made their approaches with so much vigour, and the artillery was so well plied, that the commander had the white flag hung out the 19th at noon; and obtained time to retire with his garrison to the castles. The chief merit of this dispatch was attributed to M. *de Lowendabl*. From the 19th to the 24th there had been a cessation on both sides; but on the 24th hostilities commenced by a cannon shot from the castles. The besiegers replied to this gun by a discharge from five batteries on the left banks of the *Maeze*, and on the fortifications of the town on the same side.

In the night between the 24th and 25th the trenches were opened; and the commander with his garrison surrendered the 30th. It was stipulated in the capitulation, that the troops, consisting of thirteen battalions and two squadrons, should be made prisoners of war, and conducted to *Mons*. After the taking of the castles of *Namur*, count *Clermont* detached a part of his army to go and join marshal *Saxe's*. The marshal having received advice that the *Austrians* were making motions in their camp, did the same in his.

Prince *Charles*, in order to pass the river *Jard* with his army, went from *Holderon* the 3d of *October*; some skirmishes happened on the change of quarters. It had been long marshal *Saxe's* intention to force the allies to repass the *Maeze*, he therefore, as soon as apprized of prince *Charles's* movements, resolved to go and attack him; wherefore he made the army march the 10th,
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without baggage; and having passed the *Jard*, he encamped between two cause-ways (which lead to *Leige*) the same day. His right leaned on the cause-way leading to *Leige* from *St. Tron*; *Schendermale*, a village, was in the center of the line, of which the left extended beyond the cause-way running from *Tongres* to *Leige*.

A body of reserve encamped behind the village of *Houte*, as a third line; another body of reserve encamped, as a fourth line, under the command of *M. de Contades*. The detached troops, under the commands of count *d'Esfrées* and prince *Clermont*, were posted on the cause-way leading from *St. Tron* to *Leige*, at some distance before the army. The marquis of *Clermont Gal-lerande*, with the troops under his command, and count *Montaigne*, were placed on the left.

The Battle of Rocoux.

M. Saxe employed the whole day in viewing the position of the allies, possessed of rising-grounds, having their left wing at *Ance* and in the suburbs of *Valburge*, and their right extending beyond the fee-farm of *Enick*, which lay before them. The marshal regulated his dispositions according to their situation, and having given his orders to the general officers appointed to command the several attacks on the villages the allies were possessed of, he omitted no precaution to secure a successful event.

On the eleventh at break of day the general was beat: and the entire army, in about two hours after, was in motion, marching in ten parallel columns as far as the village *Lontain*,
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which was the assigned point of rendezvous to each column. As soon as the army was assembled at the place from which they were to move towards the enemy, the cavalry on each wing drew up in order of battle; and the infantry charged with the attacks remained in a column by battalions.

The army of the allies having made their dispositions at the same time, moved about five hundred paces from the front of their camp, still preserving the several posts which they had upon the heights. The cannon placed on the right of the *French* army, began to fire at noon, and continued till two. Then prince *Clermont* and *d'Estreés* marched with the brigades of *Champagne*, *Picardy*, *Bourbon*, *Fienne*, *Segur*, and *Monaco* to the suburbs of *St. Valburge*, and to the village of *Ance*; from which place they drove the enemy at the first attack, who lost there many officers and soldiers.

M. de Maubourg, who was to head the second attack, against *Varoux* a village, marched with the brigades of *Vaisseaux*, *Orleans*, *Rovergue* and *Beauvoisis*; and advancing against the hedge behind which the enemy had entrenched themselves, carried it, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they met there. The allies having made a brave defence, lost considerably. *M. de Maubourg's* horse was killed under him.

The attack of the village of *Roucoux* (from which the battle has its name) was the lot of *M. de Herouville*, who with the brigades of *Auvergne*, *Navarre*, *Montmorin*, and *Royal*, began it about
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three o'clock : the prodigious fire of the allied army's artillery from that village, disordered the *French* troops on their march ; but being soon rallied, they with the greatest intrepidity attacked the village, and carried it, but not till they had killed or made prisoners most of its gallant defenders.

M. de Clermont Gallerande, who was between the villages of *Liers* and *Rocoux*, joined during the attack, the corps under him, to that under M. de Herouville's command. Marshal Saxe, attentive to every transaction, commanded six battalions to advance, and compel the enemy to retire from their two redoubts upon the heights ; but upon information that they had been already abandoned, the six battalions were countermanded.

The *French* artillery kept a constant fire during this action, which occasioned great confusion among the *Dutch* cavalry ; their precipitate flight threw the rest of the allied army into such disorder, that, having left behind them the greatest part of their artillery, their only attention was to retreat by the back parts of the village of *Liers*. They were driven from all their posts about five o'clock in the evening. Marshal Saxe commanded his cavalry to go in pursuit of them, but night coming on, joined to the impediments of two hollow ways, prevented their overtaking them ; but they cannonaded them in their retreat.

The loss of the allies in this battle amounted to 12,000 slain and 3000 made prisoners, besides those who perished in the retreat, in which great numbers

numbers were cut off by the vigilance of M. *d'Estreés*, who had caused light troops to advance towards their bridges. They lost likewise sixty-four pieces of cannon, besides those which they threw into the river, one standard, and nine pair of colours. The Loss of the *French* did not exceed one thousand slain, and two thousand wounded, few dangerously. It is generally thought that if there had been two hours more of day-light, the army of the allies would have been totally destroyed. This is, of all the battles gained by marshal *Saxe*, the one in which he displayed the most consummate generalship, and that he valued himself most for, as he has since confessed, calling it the battle fought according to his mind, and agreeable to his favourite principles of war.

It was observed, on the day after this famous battle, that the allies had repassed the *Maese*. Marshal *Saxe* marched to *Leige* before he separated his army, having left chevalier *de Belleisle* with six thousand men on the field of battle, to secure a passage for the wounded. He ordered his troops afterwards to return to their old camp at *Tongres*; from whence they departed the 22d of *October*, to go into the winter-quarters assigned to them, where they were so distributed that they could be assembled together in twenty-four hours.

M. *de Lorwendahl* was appointed to command at *Namur* during the winter. Count *Boutteville* remained at *Brussels*, and M. *de Clermont Gallérande* at *Antwerp*. Marshal *Saxe* having made

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all necessary dispositions for the security of the posts which he had caused to be occupied, and provided all the magazines with sufficient store of forage and other provisions, went to *Brussels*, where he had not intended to sojourn long; but having learned there that prince *Charles* had not as yet put his troops into winter-quarters, and was still at *Maestricht*, the marshal would not stir from *Brussels*, till he saw there was no room to apprehend any thing from the prince.

At length the allies, tired of keeping the field, and despairing of their being able to execute any thing, resolved to go into winter-quarters; upon notice of which, marshal *Saxe* set out from *Brussels* for *Fountainbleau*, where he arrived the 14th of *November*. Their majesties gave him a most gracious reception. Having made his report to the king of the dispositions he had made in *Flanders*, his majesty directed a brevet to be given to him, which he had ordered to be made out from the first of the same month (*November*) in his behalf. By this brevet he made him a present of six pieces of cannon, whereof the bores were for three pound balls; an honour never granted but to most extraordinary merit, and to persons whom the prince has the greatest dependence on.

The dauphin's marriage with a princess of *Poland*, daughter of the king thereof, and consequently *M. Saxe's* niece, encreased the number of those who paid their court to him; and the *French* king, to give him a new mark of his royal favour on the occasion, appointed him marshal general

general of his camps and armies in the beginning of the year 1747. All the court paid him their compliments on this occasion, which however excited great envy in certain persons, whose prudence made them conceal it, and rest satisfied in private murmuring, against what they maliciously called the king's partial preference to a stranger; who, on his side, received every body with the same politeness as usual; and far from appearing in the least elated with his new dignity, seemed rather more affable and complaisant; the true criterion of great souls in elevation.

Though nothing was spoke of at court but diversions, marshal *Saxe's* attention was elsewhere, and employed concerning the situation of the troops which he had left in *Flanders*. As he was getting ready to repair thither, it was insinuated to him from the king, that his presence for some time longer at *Versailles*, would be looked upon as a compliment to the new dauphiness; and no less a motive could make him delay: however, he sent *M. de Lowendabl* to the army, on whom he depended entirely.

The great revelling at *Versailles*, on account of the dauphin's marriage, did not hinder frequent councils of war being held. The conferences at *Breda*, calculated by the allies to gain time, came to nothing, the *French* court having seen through their finesse: therefore *M. de Lowendabl* caused all the towns and places in *Flanders* to be fortified, which had appeared to him to be the most exposed to the attacks of the enemy.

my. Marshal *Saxe* arrived at *Brussels* about the end of *March*, and gave orders for the army's being in readiness to act the next month. The allies were greatly embarrassed by the several motions the general made, and found themselves under a necessity of imitating them.

The duke of *Cumberland*, returned from suppressing the rebellion headed by *Edward Stuart* in *England*, had passed a part of the winter at the *Hague*, where he secretly negotiated the prince of *Orange's* (married to his sister) being made stadtholder, and succeeded; whereon, the fourth of *May* following, that prince was declared stadtholder, admiral, and captain-general of the United Provinces; nay, farther, the stadtholdership, was rendered hereditary in his family, and even in the female line, in default of male-issue. This event appeared as a complete triumph to the partizans of the house of *Orange*; and the allies flattered themselves with the hopes of great advantages to accrue from it, because they fancied it would disconcert the schemes of the *French* court.

The intention of the States General to elect a stadtholder, had no sooner transpired to the court of *Versailles*, than it resolved to act directly against the *Dutch*. Orders were dispatched to the *French* general, to make their troops march from their winter-quarters towards *Dutch Flanders*: conformable to these orders, marshal *Saxe* had detached *M. de Contades* to begin the operations, by taking the forts of the *Pearl*, and
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of *Liefkenshoech*; he had cantoned the troops in order to spare them.

The 20th of *April* marshal *Saxe* left *Brussels*, to go and view the cantonments, and the dispositions with which he had charged *M. de Contades*, who, on the 24th of the same month, made himself master of the two places.

M. de Lorwendahl had likewise been detached to go to *Ecluse*; where he had scarce arrived, when he forced the redoubts, by which the avenues to it were defended. He compelled the place to capitulate, and two days after reduced *Iffendick*. He marched from thence to *Sas de Gand*, which he attacked so vigorously, that in the night between the 30th of *April* and first of *May*, he made himself master of it, after five days siege: while he was besieging *Philippine*, he received orders to go to *Antwerp*, which the allies seemed to threaten. Upon this summons, he left to *M. de Montmorin* the conducting of the siege of that little fortress, who, after he had taken it, marched directly to *Hulst*, where *M. de Contades* joined him.

All imaginable means were employed by the allies to prevent the loss of *Hulst*; who, for that end, detached nine battalions to defend the post of *Sandeberg*; a place of very great consequence for the security of *Hulst*. On the ninth of *May*, the duke of *Cumberland* went thither in person; but all his efforts were frustrated: for marshal *Saxe*, who knew full well the importance of this post, repaired to the troops forming the siege of *Hulst*, in order to hasten

its reduction, which contributed to the taking of *Axel*. The garrisons of these several places amounted to five thousand men, and were conducted into *France* prisoners of war.

The allies were astonished at the rapidity of these conquests, and, on the first of *May*, their army made a motion; which seemed to threaten *Antwerp*, but *M. de Lowendabl*, who had been sent thither by marshal *Saxe*, having arrived on the fifth, caused the proper repairs to be made, in order to put the place in a posture of defence. He ordered several redoubts to be built before the glacis, and provided the town with all sorts of ammunition; and, to prevent a great and unnecessary consumption, sent away all the horses belonging to the officers of the garrison, his own first by way of example.

On the 29th of the same month the king left *Versailles*, and on the 31st arrived at *Brussels*; at about a league distant from it, he was met by marshals *Saxe* and *Noailles*. All the infantry quitted their cantonments on the king's arrival, and were so posted, that upon the first order they could join, and march wherever any emergency should call them.

On their side, the allies made several motions on which the *French* regulated themselves. Although the position of the allies made it presumable that they had no intention of besieging *Antwerp*, yet marshal *Saxe* thought it prudent to send *M. de Lowendabl* back to *Antwerp*, who had just come from thence in order to give the king an account of his operations in *Dutch Flan-*

Flanders. He remained there till the 26th, and then marched from it to *Mechlin*, with six battalions and two regiments of dragoons, having received orders for so doing from marshal *Saxe*, who had been informed that the allies intended to remove their camp.

On the 29th, prince *Soubise* (camp-master for that day) was appointed to command a general forage, which, as well as the preceding one, was executed very peaceably. On the 30th the allies made a motion, which obliged the marshal to make one.

The king set out the same day from *Tirlemont* for *St. Tron*; but on his way thither, having received advice that the artillery had not as yet passed the bridge of the great *Getbe*, he stopped at *Ootsmael*, and the troops accompanying him stopped at *Birvouae*. The house in which the king was lodged, happening to take fire during the night, he rode off to *Tongres* (where marshal *Saxe* was) at four in the morning. Soon after his arrival there, he visited the field of battle the marshal had marked out in order to fight the enemy, whose right wing stretching along the heights, extended to the commandery; their left possessing the villages which lay before it, pointed towards *Maeſtricht*: they had planted several batteries of cannon, and were moreover intrenched in those villages.

The king went upon the rising grounds of the village of *Hetdezen*, to examine the disposition of his army, which was ranged in two lines of infantry and cavalry. Its left fronted towards
the

the commandery, where his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland's* quarters were. Its right extended beyond the village of *Rympy*, and the white house, having the village before it.

The army of the allies attempted, about seven in the evening, to take possession of this village, which was covered by two brigades of infantry, with thirty pieces of cannon, for near an hour, but unsuccessfully. All the troops held themselves in order of battle during the night, and the king had but a very indifferent lodging in a poor farm-house.

The Battle of LAWFFELDT.

The king having heard mass at four in the morning on the second of *June*, he repaired to the field of battle, and his troops began to move to attack the allied army. Count *Clermont*, with the troops under his command, marched towards the village of *Lawffeldt*, defended by some *Dutch* regiments, with the *Hanoverians*, *Hessians*, and *English*; while count *D'Estreés* marched by the left flank of the allies.

Notwithstanding the terrible fire of the enemy, the several columns under count *Clermont* marched up in good order; at ten in the morning they began to attack the village, and drove the enemy out of it, after two repulses. The cavalry immediately opened on each side of this village, which was entirely defeated, though supported by all their infantry. Count *D'Estreés* attacked them a-new as they fled towards *Ma-*
estricht,

effricht, and made a multitude of prisoners by falling on them with his *corps de reserve*.

Immediately after the rout of the allied army's left wing, marshal *Saxe*, who had an eye every where, ordered that their right wing, as yet untouched, should be attacked. It consisted of the queen of *Hungary*'s forces; who, as soon as they saw the *French* army advancing in front before them, retreated in disorder; and under *Maastricht* joined the rest of their army. The marquis *de Gallerande*, and count *Clermont de Tounerre* were ordered by the king to pursue them. The *French* king lay, the night between the second and third, in the place where the day before the duke of *Cumberland* had his head quarters.

The carrying the post at *Lawfeldt* was a most bloody affair; the villages and plains around it were covered with the dead, dying, and wounded. On both sides, the loss in killed, wounded and taken prisoners, was not less than 20,000. Twenty-nine pieces of cannon, several colours and standards, with two kettle drums were taken by the *French* from the allies.

Marshal *Saxe*, after the victory, sent orders to *M. de Lowendabl*, who had moved with a part of the corps under his command from *Louvain* to *Tirlemont*, to return the way he had come. On the 7th of July 1747, *M. de Lowendabl* set out from *Tirlemont*, and having rallied all his troops at *Louvain*, he departed from *Mechlin* the 6th, and in the camp there, gave them double rest; during which time, he was employed

ployed in taking all the measures necessary for the operations, which marshal *Saxe* and he had planned together.

He detached a regiment of volunteers the 8th, to take post at *Leer*, in order to cover his intended march the following day. He ranged his army along the cause-way of *Mechlin*, as far as beyond *Antwerp*, in one column, on the 9th. His right leaned to the village of *Marxheim* near *Antwerp*, and his left to *Eckeren*. A detachment of one thousand seven hundred Dutch being at *Santvliet*, M. de *Lowendabl* thought it expedient to drive them out of it, that he might not be incommoded in his march by any post behind him; therefore he detached M. de *Lally* in the night between the 9th and 10th, with three hundred volunteers, two hundred dragoons, two battalions of *Chabillant's* royal grenadiers, three other companies of grenadiers, four haubuts, and two pieces of cannon, to take possession of *Santvliet*, by driving away the enemy.

In the night between the 10th and the 11th, M. de *Lally* gained universal applause by the abilities he displayed in taking that place, and with little loss, the enemy abandoning it precipitately. On the 10th, the army having begun its march with two columns, and meeting very bad weather, stopped the 11th in the camp of *Ossendrecht*, where a convoy of three hundred waggon arrived from *Antwerp*, loaded with hurdles, fascines, and gabions, for the intended siege, which was then a secret: and was that of *Bergen-op-Zoom*. The taking of that place redounded

dounded to the particular glory, and established, above malice, the military capacity of monsieur *de Lowendabl*. The taking of it did not astonish the allies more, than it did the *French*, who despaired of succeeding in so desperate an undertaking, in which so many had failed before. As soon as the king heard the news, he conferred the dignity of marshal of *France* on *M. de Lowendabl*, in recompence for so eminent and amazing a service as that he had done him, in taking *Bergen-op-Zoom*, which had hitherto been looked upon as impregnable.

The armies separated to go into winter quarters in the beginning of the month of *November*. Marshal *Saxe* having provided for the security of all the places, set out from *Brussels* to *Paris*, where he arrived the 19th of *December*, and repaired the next day to *Versailles*, where he and *M. de Belleisle* (just returned from *Italy*) had frequent conferences with the king, relative to the operations of the ensuing campaign. His majesty ordered a brevet to be made out agreeable to his having named marshal *Saxe*, before his departure from the army, commander general of the Low Countries lately conquered, which was accordingly executed, bearing date the 12th of *January* 1748.

Notwithstanding the several negotiations for a peace, which had been set on foot during the winter, *France* prepared to operate with more vigour than before. Consequently orders were dispatched to the troops to leave their winter quarters in the beginning of *March*, and in
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obedience, they waited neither for absent officers, nor for the recruits, so sudden was their departure. On the 18th of the same month, marshal *Saxe* left *Paris*, and arrived at *Brussels* the 20th, where, in his new quality of commander general of the Low Countries, he made his entry.

Maesricht was the principal object of his operations; and having conferred with marshal *de Lowendahl* thereupon, he distributed to all the generals the orders according to which they were to act.

The allies, never imagining that the *French* would attempt any thing as yet, were in the mean time very quiet in their quarters: but as soon as informed of the motions marshal *Saxe* made, they began also to move on their side, and with all the diligence they could to assemble their troops. The *French* endeavours were to make them believe that their design was upon *Sceenbergen* or *Breda*, in which they succeeded, and by their well concerted movements, made the enemy take the wrong scent.

After various marches and counter-marches, which had so puzzled the allies, that they could not penetrate into the intention of the *French*, marshal *de Lowendahl*, with the body under him, invested *Maesricht* on the right side of the *Maeze*. This river divides that city into two parts, each having a different name; that situated on the left (or west) bank of this river is *Maesricht*, properly so called; the name of the other is *Wick*, a fine bridge joins them.

Mar-

MAURICE COUNT SAXE. 133

Marshal *Saxe's* quarters were established at the abbey of *Hocht*, and those of marshal *de Loewendabl* at *Burlawharen*. The same camp between the *Maeze* and the *Jar*, which *M. d'Estreés* had the preceding campaign, upon the heights of fort *St. Peter*, was occupied by *M. de Breze*, who caused a bridge to be thrown over-against *Ost*.

On the 11th, *M. de St. Germain* marched with the three battalions of the regiment of *Limoufin*, the regiment of *Bassigny*, the dragoons and hussars, excepting the regiment of *Rougrave*, to go and consume a magazine at *Fauquemont*, which the enemy had abandoned there. *M. d'Estreés*, with the troops under his orders, advanced to *Peer*.

By the 13th of *April 1748*, the investment of *Maesricht* having been completed on the right side of the *Maeze*, marshal *Saxe* caused the brigades to be formed according to order of battle. The trenches were opened by six thousand workmen on the 15th at night: the works of this siege were so vigorously carried on, and the artillery played so well, that marshal *Saxe* judging every thing ready the fourth of *May* for a general attack on the covered way, he made all the necessary dispositions to execute it that evening.

A letter from the duke of *Cumberland* to marshal *Saxe*, informing him, that as the preliminaries for a general reconciliation had been signed, he proposed *Maesricht's* being delivered up to him, on condition that the garrison should be allowed to

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march

march out with all the honours of war. A cessation of arms for eight and forty hours was agreed upon; at the expiration of which term, the capitulation was drawn up in writing, and signed on one side by marshal *Saxe*, &c. &c. and on the other by the commander in *Maestricht*, Baron *D'Aylva*, the 7th of *May* 1748.

The suspension of arms was soon made public in *Flanders* and *Italy*. The plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers signed a definitive treaty of peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the 18th of *October* following, to the satisfaction of all parties, and ardent wishes of the harrassed subjects of the respective nations.

Marshal *Saxe*, during the interval between the armistice and signing of the peace, repaired to the court then at *Compiègne*; and on his return from thence to *Brussels*, made his public entry into *Namur*, where, having received all the honours due to his high rank and unrivalled merit, and deeming his farther presence in the Low Countries unnecessary, he remitted the command to *M. du Chayla*, and set out for *Fountainbleau*. From whence, about the end of the same month, *October*, he retired to *Chambord*; and there made all the improvements he thought proper for his conveniency, in order to enjoy his laurels at ease.

For his regiment of *Hallans*, he had barracks erected; and it was a constant amusement of his by frequently exercising, to improve them in military evolutions. At his *Hotel*, as duly as at the king's palace, a guard was mounted every day:

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he procured stallions of wild horses to be brought from *Russia* and *Poland*, with which (in time) he proposed to remount his dragoons; for these horses having been accustomed to live on what they met in the woods, and hardily brought up, he from thence inferred, that they would bear better than other horses a scarcity of forage in an army. His studs were complete, and he delighted much in them.

When the regiment of *Hullans* returned from the army, in their way to *Blois* and *Chambord*, marshal *Saxe* made them march through *Paris*, and obtained the honour of the king's presence to see them perform their evolutions. The king, royal family, and all the court, went to the plain of *Sablons*, where they found the marshal in an *Hullan* dress, at the head of his regiment, encamped and ranged in order of battle. Their different exercises pleased the king so well, that he publicly complimented M. *Saxe* thereon. Great crowds from *Paris* had flocked thither, and returned home, expressing the highest raptures on the military entertainment they had seen.

Marshal *Saxe*, having settled his affairs in *France*, resolved to do so in *Germany*, whither he purposely went. On his way thither, passing through *Berlin*, he had the honour of an interview with the king of *Prussia*, who received him with uncommon marks of distinction, and protracted the visit as long as he politely could. His majesty had many conferences with him relative to the military art; and their discourses on that sub-

jest cost the marshal some nights. Although the king of *Prussia*, on his taking leave, had thanked him for his complaisance in a most gracious manner, yet he thought in insufficient; and in a few days after, honoured him with a letter, bearing in substance, as follows:

‘ That he was concerned for his having made
 ‘ him sit up so many nights; but that he was too
 ‘ sincere an ally to *France*, to have done it with
 ‘ any design on the health of a hero so precious
 ‘ to her; that curiosity and a desire of learning
 ‘ from so great a master, was his only plea.’
 The letter concluded with this flattering anecdote. ‘ That some time before, the question
 ‘ had been put in his presence, what battle in
 ‘ this age was the most honourable to its general.
 ‘ Some declared for that of *Almanza*; others
 ‘ for that of *Turin*; but upon mature deliberation,
 ‘ all agreed at last, that the battle did
 ‘ most honour, where the general was at the
 ‘ point of death when it was fought,’ to wit,
Fontenoy.

Marshal *Saxe* was scarce returned from his *German* expedition to *Chambord*, when time, from his having been accustomed to the tumult of war, his natural inclination, began to grow irksome to him. The care of his horses, hunting, and exercising his regiment, became his only occupations. He had always a number of workmen employed; nor ever wanted company: for, besides the nobility from the adjacent parts of the country, who were all known to him, several persons of distinction repaired from

MAURICE Count SAXE. 137

from *Paris* to *Chambord*, to pay their court to him. He gave several public entertainments, all which were executed with that elegance of taste, for which he had been always remarkable.

He had the displeasure of receiving frequent complaints against his regiment, notwithstanding all his precautions to make them observe discipline, which at last he established, by making severe examples of the guilty, whom he punished with all the severity imaginable.

He declined by degrees, and was quite worn out by a complication of disorders, which his early and excessive debauchery, relying too much on the natural strength of his constitution, had brought on him: he expired after nine days illness, the 30th of *November* 1750. All *France* sincerely mourned the loss of a man to whom they were under such great obligations: the king being extremely affected by his death, the court assumed the semblance of a sincere grief, though many envious rejoiced in private.

Marshal *Saxe* was bred a *Lutheran*, and he constantly professed that religion, notwithstanding the different attempts made to dissuade him from it, and convince him of his error. As cardinal *Tencin* met him in the gallery of *Versailles* soon after the peace, and complimented him on his glorious campaigns:

His eminence said to marshal *Saxe*, ‘ Nothing now is wanting but one victory more to give the finishing stroke to all the rest;’ to which the marshal replied, ‘ pray, what is that victory?’

The cardinal answered, ' to combat and conquer *Luther*;' to which the marshal rejoined, ' my Lord cardinal, the peace is as yet too recent to speak of combats and victories.'

It was in regard to his religion, that after his decease, the following words have been often used; ' It was a pity, that in the behalf of that man, who had so often caused *Te Deum* to be sung in the churches of *France*, a *de profundis* could not be said:' however, in christian charity, it is to be supposed, that he made his journey without one. After his decease, the following will was found; and as the last actions of great men are ever interesting to a curious reader, it is not doubted but this will prove a pleasing memorial of him.

THE

T H E

Last WILL and CODICIL

Of his SERENE HIGHNESS

MARSHAL GENERAL COUNT SAXE,
&c. &c. &c.

Deposited with *Fortier*, Notary Public in
Paris, December 3d, 1750.

At *Paris*, March 1st, 1758.

HAVING often considered the accidents attendant on this life, I at length resolved to dispose of the estate I had to leave behind me, consisting of very valuable moveables in *France* and *Germany*; besides near six hundred thousand livres lodged in certain bankers hands, and one hundred and twenty thousand livres in *Saxony*, paid or payable to M. *Muldener* on my pensions, with a large diamond in his hands called *Prague*: About ten thousand roubles on the island of *Warmiffau* in *Livonia*, which M. *de Brinken*, who rents that estate of me by way of farm, knows very well.

Having thus premised, I dispose in the following manner of my estate, after the discharge of whatever debts of mine shall appear; of which, however, I have no knowledge, as I think I have cleared off all debts I had ever contracted.

tracted. I therefore name two testamentary executors, whom I pray to see this my last will executed, viz. *M. de Ertmansdorff*, grand cup-bearer to his majesty the king of *Poland* elector of *Saxony*, for what is on the other side of the *Rhine*; and for what I leave in *France*, *M. Baudry*, attorney in the chatelet of *Paris*.

In remembrance of the friendly offices of *M. de Ertmansdorff*, the grand cup-bearer, to me, I pray he will accept of the diamond called *Prague*, with my ring.

And that in return for the affection with which he has served me, *M. Baudry* will accept of a thousand louis d'ors.

More, To *M. Dieskau*, colonel of my regiment of horse, twenty thousand livres.

More, To *M. Gauders*, major of my regiment of foot, twenty-four thousand livres.

More, To *M. de Heldorf*, captain of grenadiers in the said regiment of foot, twenty-four thousand livres.

More, To *M. de Pauly*, captain in the said regiment, twenty-four thousand livres.

The above-named gentlemen having zealously followed my fortune for a long time, I bequeath them these marks of my gratitude, and pray that they will remember me.

More, To *M. d'Arlet*, who has retired to *Blois*, twelve thousand livres.

More, To *M. de Bacboi's* camp master reformed, and lieutenant of the game at *Chambord*, twelve thousand livres.

More,

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More, To the chevalier *Girardon*, living at the castle of *Ecureuils* twelve thousand livres.

More, To *M. de Sourdis Rabanois*, a hundred thousand livres.

More, To count *Watsdaroff*, lord of *Lichtenwal*, four hundred thousand livres, as a restitution for the forfeiture which his *Polish* majesty gave me, on the confiscation of his uncle's estate.

More, To my valet de chambre *Beauvois*, twelve thousand livres.

More, To *Hunerkopff*, my under-gentleman of the horse, twelve thousand livres.

More, To my surgeon *Rout*, twelve thousand livres.

More, To my four guards, twenty thousand livres, to wit, to each five thousand livres: their names are, *Abbrege*, *Dubrevil*, *Neuly* and *Grosse*.

More, To my chief grooms, ten thousand livres, five to each, to wit, *Philip* and *Christian*.

More, To my drum-major, five thousand livres.

The remainder of my estate in *France* shall devolve to count *Bellegarde*, chamberlain to his *Polish* majesty, and his ambassador at *Turin*.

In regard to what I possess on the other side of the *Rhine*, and of which I beseech *M. de Ertmansdorff* to take the disposal of upon him.

One thousand *Saxon* crowns I bequeath to my ancient and faithful domestic *Trobick*.

One thousand ducats, to *A. M. Muldener*, secretary to the court.

A manuscript book, which I have composed on military affairs, to *A. M. count de Frise*.

To madam *Louisa de Mezzerat*, shall be given all the residue in money, as a mark of my remembrance.

I desire that my body may be buried in *Lime*, that in a short time nothing more of me may remain in the world, but my memory among my friends.

(signed) MAURICE DE SAXE.

A D D I T I O N S.

If by any event I cannot at present foresee my estate in *France* should not prove sufficient to pay off the legacies, which I have made by this holographic (*i. e.* written and signed by the testator) testament, to those therein mentioned on this side of the *Rhine*; the defalcation shall first fall upon the bequest to count *Bellegarde*, and if that should be deficient, the executor shall deduct what may be wanting from count *Waisdaroff*; my *Saxon* estate having no manner of connection with my *French* one.

Done at *Paris*, March 5th, 1746.

(signed) MAURICE DE SAXE.

Below is written.

M. de Baudry and *Ertmansdorff*, being both dead since I made this present holographic testament; which by this codicil I confirm in every other

other point; and for my testamentary executors, constitute M. *Muldener* counsellor of the *Saxon* court at *Dresden*, for my *Saxon* estate; and M. *de Piroheingues*, heretofore captain of the hundred *Swiss* of his late *Polish* majesty, now resident in *Paris*, for my estate in *France*.

To the former, in acknowledgment of the services he has rendered me, I bequeath a thousand ducats. To the marquis *Piroheingues*, I leave my picture enriched with diamonds of a thousand louis d'ors value; also a thousand ducats out of what I have in *Saxony*, and my pictures among my moveables in *France*.

To my nephew count *de Frise*, I bequeath my great diamond ring called *Prague*, now in *France*, in the hands of M. *Fortier*.

I intreat his most christian majesty to grant to my nephew, my regiment of light horse, and habitation at *Chambord*, with the captainry thereof, but on condition that he shall keep up the stud of horses by me established there, in order to remount the said regiment as shall appear requisite. I humbly hope, that I shall hereby preserve a regiment to the king which cannot be equalled; and a breed of horses not to be matched: inasmuch as I have spared no cost to procure for *France* a species of horses swifter than those they breed, and greatly wanted for light horse, and which cannot be procured in time of war.

If his majesty will grant this favour, my intention is, that the present furniture remain in *Chambord*, according to the inventory there, for the use of count *Frise* my nephew; but if the king

king shall think proper to dispose otherwise of it, the stud and moveables shall be sold by auction; and the sum of money resulting from thence shall be added to my other effects in *France*.

I moreover bequeath to *M. d'Alençon* the king's secretary, and my former governor, in gratitude for the affection he always bore me, a diamond of twenty-four thousand livres value.

I leave also to *Messac* my valet de chambre, at one payment, six thousand livres.

More, To *Mouret*, my house-keeper at *Chambord*, at one payment, six thousand livres.

More, To *M. Rousseau* of *Villeneuve, St. George's*, at one payment, 20,000 livres.

Such is my last will at *Paris*.

Dated, the 1st of *January*, 1748.

(signed)

MAURICE DE SAXE.

On the 3d of *December* following, this testament was lodged; and the king, willing to honour his memory in remembrance of his eminent services, not only resolved to pay the expences of his funeral; but also in regard to his last will granted to his nephew count *Frise*, the enjoyment of the castle of *Chambord*, and his regiment of *Hullans*, since called the *Frise* volunteers; and although the large pensions which the king paid to marshal *Saxe* ceased with his death, yet a part was bestowed on his family, and those who faithfully served him.

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The funeral obsequies of Marshal SAXE,
Ec. Ec. Ec.

Immediately after the decease of the marshal, all his officers went into deep mourning, mounted the guard as if he had been alive, and a cannon was fired every half hour, until the departure of his body for *Straßbourg*, whither in five weeks after it was conveyed.

One article of his will was disobeyed, and which was, that his body should be put into lime. It was embalmed, put into a leaden coffin, enclosed in another of copper, and covered with another of wood bound with iron. The heart was put into a silver gilt box, and the entrails into a separate coffin.

On the 8th of *Jan.* following, the convoy set out for *Straßbourg*, his corps in a large mourning coach, which was followed by two others drawn by six horses. One hundred *Hullan* dragoons, with crapes in their hats, and their arms hanging, escorted the convoy. Their march continued a month, on account of the badness of the weather.

As the convoy approached *Straßbourg*, on the 7th of *Feb.* the chevalier *St. André*, commander of the province in *M. de Coigni's* absence, detached a regiment of cavalry to meet it. The corps being arrived at the gate of *Salerne*, it was saluted from the rampart with twelve cannon shot. The bells of the *Lutheran* churches rang. All the
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field-officers at the head of the infantry, ranged in a lane from the town-gate to the governor's, made the salute with their arms. The order of the entry of the funeral pomp, was as follows:

First the regiment of *Clermont* cavalry, then five hundred *Hullan* dragoons; M. *Saxe's* second gentleman of the horse, with four guards on foot, in black; after whom came the funeral-coach; on each side six footmen marched, supporting the cloth which covered the coach; grooms holding the horses by their bridles; the *Swiss* on foot and in deep mourning.

'Then followed' a mourning coach, in which baron *Helaroff* first gentleman of horse sat alone, having a black velvet cushion, bordered with silver lace, at his side; thereon was placed a little square coffer, covered with black velvet, decorated with silver fringes, and containing a box of silver, gilt, made in the shape of a heart; therein marshal *Saxe's* was enclosed; two pages in weepers, were on the fore part of the coach.

Another succeeded like the foregoing, in which were the marshal's four valets de chambre. The march was closed by fifty more of the *Hullan* dragoons, forming a rear-guard. The troops, on the passing by of the funeral coach, paid the same honours to the corps as they used to the marshal when alive; the drums beating marches all the time.

The counts of *Loewenbaupt* and *Frise*, nephews of marshal *Saxe*, in long cloaks, with M. *St. André*, and several other general officers, attended

tended to receive the body, in the court of the castle, and continued there till it was placed on a bed of state, by twelve gunners. The bed was made in the taste of a dutchefs, having a grand imperial of black velvet, laced with gold and silver, ornamented with fringes of the same. The inside furniture was a silver mohair, and the curtains of white sattin were raised up and tied with black crapes.

The hall was hung from top to bottom with black, and emblazoned with different emblems of military trophies, deaths heads, marshals staves tied salteer-wise, the arms of *Saxony* and *Courland*, and the ribbon of the white eagle. There were also two other halls hung with black, as was the front of the hotel, and the courts. In the two halls were the persons assembled, appointed to accompany the funeral pomp.

The coffin was covered with a pall of black velvet, garnished with silver fringes and lace; large silver buttons hanging at the four corners. The heart and entrails were on the coffin below the velvet. A ducal crown, on a cushion of black velvet was placed at the head of the coffin; the marshals staves set across, and tied with the ribbon of the white eagle, his sword with a gold hilt in the scabbard salteer-wise, the whole covered with fine crape.

The four corners of the bed of state were lighted with wax candles fixed on stands, and at each corner was placed a stool for so many heralds at arms, each having in one hand a marshal's staff, and in the other a lighted torch. The

following day, being the eighth of *Feb.* 1751, and the time appointed for conveying the corps to the new church of *St. Thomas*, the protestant students, with the theologians of *St. William's* college, came to the bed of state, to sing the funeral canticles.

When every thing was ready for the ceremony at noon, and that the whole garrison under arms had made a lane to the new temple, from the governor's palace, and that the cavalry was drawn up in all the places the funeral was to pass through, the cannon gave the signal, the bells of the *Lutheran* churches set a-ringing, and the solemn procession was in the order that here follows:

The hundred *Hullan* dragoons, who had escorted the corps from *Chambers* to *Straßbourg*, with the butts of their pieces uppermost, marched on foot; and their drums covered with crapes, beat mournfully. A man in deep mourning marched after them, and immediately after, two more in the same garb. Each of them carried two large torches of white wax, lighted, and tied together salteer-wise, ornamented with an escutcheon, bearing on one side the arms of *Saxony*, and on the other, two staves of marshal of *France* salteer-wise also; next marched three other officers of the deceased, covered with long black cloaks trailing on the ground; the brims of their hats let down, and crapes hanging from them to their heels.

The students of *St. William's* college followed, and the divines of *Augsbourg* singing during
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the procession. After them advanced forty-three country parsons, depending on the protestant consistory of *Strasbourg*, followed by all the protestant vicars, and preachers of that city: all these clergymen were in ceremonial and mourning habits.

After the clergy marched two other officers of the deceased, carrying torches like the former. Next followed four trumpeters, cloathed in sable with crapes, the trumpets also having crape round them; then the kettle drummers, whose drums being covered with black gave a melancholy sound. Two heralds at arms, surrounded by six of the marshal's officers with torches, were followed by the *Swiss* porter, six footmen, and four body-guards, in deep mourning. Before the coffin, borne by twelve serjeants, walked two gentlemen of the horse, the one bearing the ducal crown, and the other the heart: they were attended by four pages.

Messieurs de *St. Afrique*, *St. Germain*, *Vibraye*, and *du Pas*, held the four corners of the pall, and were surrounded by ten flambeau-bearers. The corps was followed by three of the most eminent burghers of *Strasbourg*, in deep mourning, two heralds, prince *Nassau Sarbrucken*, and the counts *Lowenhaupt* and *Frise*.

The nobility of the province, who closed the march, were preceded by chevalier de *St. André*, commander of the province of *Alsace*, and lieutenant-general of the king's armies, with several field-officers, and the royal prætor, followed by the magistracy of *Strasbourg*. As soon as the

convoy had reached the church, the coffin was placed on a magnificent catafalk, with the marshal's staves, the sword, ducal crown, &c.

The assistants ranked according to their respective precedencies, the ceremony began with a doleful symphony, after which a funeral anthem was sung; after the anthem, doctor *Lorenz* professor of theology, pronounced a very pathetic oration, followed by a second symphony of instruments; then doctor *Froereisen* delivered another fine oration, thanking at the same time the assistants at the ceremony, which was concluded by a funeral anthem, during which the corps was carried into a chapel in the corner of the church, and there made on this occasion. It was deposited therein, under a triple discharge of twelve pieces of cannon, and the garrison fired off a general volley of their small arms.

Even up to the cieling the church was hung in mourning; and in order to form an artificial night, the windows were stopt up, and as well as the catafalk, it was illuminated with an infinite number of wax tapers. The funeral decorations were formed by several armories, devices, emblems, trophies, &c. The pulpit was covered with black velvet, laced with silver, whereon tears and deaths heads were represented, and in it, the arms of *Saxony* and *Courland* were placed behind the preacher. On the altar, a great black velvet carpet laced with silver, was spread.

The representation of death with his scythe, was at the head of the catafalk, having *Saturn* under his feet. At the four corners were the
four

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four virtues, with four genii weeping. The whole was ornamented with laurel branches, bucklers, helmets, cuirasses, &c. The chapel whereunto the corps of marshal *Saxe* was carried by twelve serjeants, was hung also with black, emblematically decorated.

The assistants retired, the ceremony being over; but the church remained hung in black for two days, and the catafalk in the same order, to satisfy the eager curiosity of successive crouds, who thronged thither every hour.

ANECDOTES

RELATING TO

COUNT SAXE.

COUNT *Saxe* was a man of a middling stature, his constitution robust, and his strength extraordinary. He joined the interior qualities of a most excellent heart, to an aspect sweet, martial and noble; he was polite, courteous and affable; his feeling for the misfortunes of others was so strong, that it often exceeded the measure of his income. Of his gallantry, many shining instances are recorded, and for the present, the following will suffice.

Count *Saxe* had been in high estimation with the dowager countess of *Courland*, and would in all probability have been married to her, had he been a little more cautious in his conduct, and given less occasion to alarm her jealous disposition: but she had discovered so many of his intrigues during his sojourning at *Mittaw*, that she could no longer pardon, because she had a sincere passion for him. New causes of reproach, but no sign of his amendment, happened every day, which in the end totally weaned her affections

tions from him ; to which alienation of her friendship, nothing contributed more than the annexed adventure.

There was in the retinue of the dutchess of *Courland*, a relation of count *Bestucheff's*, for whom alone count *Saxe* had eyes or wishes ; but her reign soon passed, and was succeeded by that of one of three attendant ladies on the dutchess. Here lay the difficulty ; the ladies were lodged in apartments joining to that of the dutchess, from which he was separated by a spacious court. The impossibility of his introducing himself into the chamber of his beloved, arose from the jealous neighbourhood of the others, who had *Argus's* eyes on all his movements.

In order to remedy this inconvenience in some manner, they entered into an amorous compact, that as soon as universal silence had prevailed, and all were gone to bed in the palace, he should go and receive her from her window, hand her to his apartment, and each morning before the return of day, reconduct her to her own.

This tender intercourse was happily carried on for some time ; but their evil genius, jealous of their private and stolen bliss, determined that it should be promulged. For, as one ill-fated morning, the ground being covered with snow, the count was carrying his charmer on his back, in order to prevent her catching cold, they were met full butt by an old beldam, with a lighted lanthorn, to their mutual surprize and astonishment.

ment. The old Maegera seeing an unexpected figure with two backs at that early hour, screamed as if possessed with a bad spirit.

The count, greatly embarrassed how to behave in so delicate a situation, where a lady's honour was at stake, attempted with one of his feet to kick the lanthorn out of her hand; so put out the light, and put a stop to her prying, or employed curiosity. In making the attempt his foot slipped; down he fell in the snow, the old woman under him, who redoubled her cries, whilst the dear terrified goddess on his back was in the greatest anxiety.

A centinel, alarmed at the noise, drew near to discover the cause: but the parties concerned being known he withdrew; and this comic adventure was the entertainment of the palace and town next day. As soon as the princess awoke she was informed of it, in hopes of making her laugh, but it had quite a contrary effect, and, added to all she knew before of his dissolute passion for the sex in general, filled her with aversion and contempt for him. Had he taken the least pains to merit her affection, which she was very forward to grant, he must inevitably have been *Czar of Muscovy*; so it may be asserted of him, that he lost a larger empire than *Anthony* for love, not indeed of one *Cleopatra*, but of the sex in general.

The count had not only the surprising strength of body the king his father was so remarkable for, but was also endowed with the same mildness

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Count Saxe frightens the Smith by chopping his Horse shoe

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ness of temper, and undaunted courage. His military talents were superior to that of his royal father. Nothing shews more the ingenuous character of count *Saxe*, whose name will be transmitted with honour to posterity, than his letter to general *Schmettau*, on account of having been traduced to the king of *Prussia*, as capable of entering into those little cabals, which always cause dissensions among the generals of an allied army: these were count *Saxe's* words; 'All who are acquainted with me, know that I am much fitter to break a lance, than to spin an intrigue!' and how much he was capable of doing the former, will appear from the following feats of strength.

Once on a time, being at a rendezvous after a hunting-match, to drink a glass of wine, none of the company having a cork-screw, he asked for a long nail, of which he instantly made a screw, by twisting it round his finger, to the surprize of all present, many of whom attempted the same, but failed.

The uncommon strength of his hand was so amazing, that stopping one day in a village to get one of his horses shod, he called for five or six horse-shoes which, one after the other, he broke. The smith imputed the breaking of the first and second to the badness of the iron; but when he saw that those he had chosen for sound, met the same treatment, he crossed himself, stared very earnestly at the count, suspecting something not good, and unnatural about him, refused

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to give him any more of his shoes, and seemed to say, '*vade satana*, be gone devil;' the count smiled, and gave the smith a six livre piece to make him amends for his broken shoes, and his fright: this not only recovered the smith, but reconciled him to the joke. The count, well pleased with the scene, continued his journey.

F I N I S.

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